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# Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio

*Burnet Woods, - Cincinnati, Ohio*

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## FOREWORD.

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As the Miami University at Oxford, Ohio, is preparing to appropriately observe its centennial anniversary, June 16th and 17th of the present year, the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio has determined to devote this and the following number of the "Quarterly" to the publication of material relating to the early history of the institution, contained in the "James McBride Manuscripts" which are in the library of the Society. An invitation was extended to me, an associate of the University, to arrange and edit the selections from those manuscripts. It seems most proper to present to the reader first a sketch of the life of James McBride, who served the University in an official capacity for almost a half century as Secretary (1810-20): Member of the Board of Trustees (1821-59) and as President (1852, 1856-59), and who was a charter member of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio (1831), and during the remainder of his life.

James McBride (1788-1859) was born in Franklin County, Pennsylvania. In 1860 he moved to Hamilton, Ohio, where by his Scotch thrift and wise investment he soon acquired a competence. His qualities of mind and heart won for him the confidence of his fellows, who honored him with a number of official positions. Though self educated he possessed a remarkable literary instinct, which he assiduously cultivated. He early devoted himself to the study of the archaeology and history of the Miami Valley and during his life he acquired a library comprising many thousand books and pamphlets relating to South-western Ohio, a complete file of the local newspapers and a valuable collection of antiquities personally taken from the mounds of Butler County. He was a student and writer who carefully noted, compared and revised his work and he added to his printed collection several thousand pages of manuscript material. Although he wrote much he printed little beyond some articles for the local newspapers and Cists Miscellany, and his





"History of Oxford and the Miami University" printed by the Society in 1838, and reprinted in 1872. His work was not done for money or fame but for love. He labored and others have entered into his labors. The "Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley", the "Historical Collections of Ohio" and the "History and Biographical Cyclopedia of Butler County" have been greatly enriched by him while he has received but general if any credit therefor.

Howe, who declares that the destruction of McBride's library "was an irreparable loss from the great amount of original material it contained" speaks thus of the owner, "I was impressed by the beautiful modesty of the man, and the guileless, trustful expression of his face as he looked up at me from his writing and then unreservedly put in my possession the mass of his materials, the gathered fruits of a life time of loving industry". It is evident that his trustfulness was imposed upon as he noted the failure of a borrower to return the manuscript of his "History of Miami University" for the writing of which he possessed special qualifications, having data at his command not now available and being personally connected with this institution almost from its founding. Apparently when much enfeebled he undertook to rewrite the work but only the outline was accomplished when death cut short his labors. Subsequently his valuable collection was dispersed. His books and bound collection of pamphlets, bearing his autograph, are occasionally to be found but large quantities of his pamphlets and newspapers were sold to a paper mill to be converted into pulp. His archaeological collection found its way into the hands of a Philadelphian; while "The Society" became the fortunate possessor of the bulk of his manuscripts, one only—his "History of Hamilton"—came into the possession of the University which he so long served. Ten years after his death his "Pioneer Biography", upon the preparation of which he had spent much time, was published, and has proved a valuable contribution to the literature of Ohio.

In arranging the manuscripts, logical rather than chronological order has been considered. The history of Miami University prior to its actual opening falls into two periods. The first (1787-1809) relates to the controversy concerning the "College Township". By 1809 this matter had been definitely de-



terminated and the title to Oxford township had been vested in a corporation known as "The President and Trustees of Miami University", which a year later was directed by the legislature to lay out the town of Oxford within the "College Township" and locate the University within its bounds. The query naturally arises why, if founded in 1809, the University did not commence operations as such until 1824. The University officials found themselves handicapped first, by lack of funds, owing to the township being virgin forest and without permanent settlers to render it remunerative, and second, by certain attempts made to remove the University from the "College Township" and locate it within the bounds of the "Symmes Purchase". In this number of the Quarterly certain papers relating to the "College Township", the selection of the University site, and the difficulty in securing funds are presented. The next number will contain material relating to the controversy concerning the removal of the University, which prevailed from 1814-1822.

As the undersigned is preparing "The Centennial History of Miami University" any criticisms or suggestions based upon what is here offered to the public will be thankfully received. I wish to express my appreciation of the valuable assistance rendered by Miss Hamlin, the librarian of the Society.

J. E. Bradford.

Oxford, Ohio.



## I.

### JOHN CLEVES SYMMES<sup>1</sup> TO THE HONORABLE, THE COMMITTEE<sup>2</sup> OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTA- TIVES APPOINTED ON THE SUBJECT OF THE MIAMI PURCHASE.

(A STATEMENT<sup>3</sup> OF THE FACTS RESPECTING THE COLLEGE TOWNSHIP.<sup>4</sup>)

It can not be forgotten that no township for the purpose was granted by the original contract.<sup>5</sup> . . . as no township was given at first, it will be allowed that the grantee had a right to sell any and every part of the purchase and he did sell indiscriminately.

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<sup>1</sup>John Cleves Symmes (1742-1814) was born at River Head, Long Island, and after becoming of age, moved to New Jersey. He was chairman of the Committee of Safety for Sussex County in 1774 and the next year was chosen Colonel of one of the regiments of Militia. He participated in the Long Island and New Jersey campaigns and subsequently served his State as a member of the Council, Lieutenant Governor, and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Upon the erection of the Northwest Territory he made application in behalf of himself and others for a grant of lands, which was allowed, and he, being appointed Territorial Judge, removed to North Bend above the mouth of the Big Miami, where he arrived February 1 or 2, 1789. He played a conspicuous part in the early history of Ohio. His grandson Benjamin, son of William Henry Harrison, was a graduate of the Miami University.

<sup>2</sup>The committee consisted of Messrs. Randolph of Va., Ellendorf of N. Y., Goddard of Conn., Henderson of N. C., and Archer of Md. Cf. *Annals of the 7th Cong., 2nd Sess.*, p. 290.

<sup>3</sup>Published in the Western Spy and Cincinnati Gazette, Oct. 19, 1803. As copies of this newspaper are scarce and, as a copy of this statement is included in the McBride manuscripts, it is thought well to republish it as introductory to what is to follow. For the view of his opponents, Cf. "*A Reply to the Statement of John Cleves Symmes, Addressed to the Committee of Congress, Etc.*" in the Library of the Society.

<sup>4</sup>In his petition to Congress of August 29, 1787, Symmes asks that his grant be "in all respects similar, in form and nature, to the same grant made to Messrs. Sargent and Cutler, differing only in quantity and place where, and instead of the two townships for the use of a University that only one be assigned for the benefit of an academy." (Cf. *Journal of Congress*, Vol. XII, p. 150.) Congress having "by their act of the 3rd of October 1787, authorized the honorable Commissioners of the Treasury Board to enter into a contract with Symmes," he, in his pamphlet "To the Respectable Public" published at Trenton, Nov. 26, 1787 (Cf. Burnet's *Notes on the Northwestern Territory*, pp. 482-490), states "One complete township to be given perpetually for the purpose of an Academy or College to be





After three and one-half years<sup>6</sup> from the date of the original contract had elapsed, those lands that came within the patent were pretty generally sold, congress gave a township for the use of an Academy, to be located within the limits of the grant, as altered and designated by the act of the 12th of April, 1792.

The act of congress of the 5th of May, 1792, giving this township, does not subject the location thereof to the approbation or disapprobation of the governor of the Territory. By fair inference, therefore, that part of the patent<sup>7</sup> requiring the

laid off . . . as nearly opposite the mouth of the Licking River as an entire township may be found eligible in point of soil and situation, to be applied to the intended object by the Legislature of the State." In accordance with this provision he caused to be designated on the map of the purchase, what is now known as Springfield Township, Hamilton County, as the "College Township." October 15, 1788, Jonathan Dayton and Daniel March, his associates, to whom he had given the power of attorney so far as the business of the association in the east was concerned, entered into an agreement with the government whereby the amount of the grant was reduced from two million to one million acres and the bounds of the grant modified. (Burnet's Notes, pp. 490-91.) No mention being made in this agreement concerning the "College Township," Symmes concluded that it was forfeited by the reduction of the grant and sold a considerable portion of the designated township. The patent of 1792 having made provision for a "College Township," Symmes in 1798 tendered to Governor St. Clair the second township of the second fractional range. This the Governor declined because it did not answer the description of the one granted by his patent, was indifferent quality, and his title to it was questioned. (Cf. *St. Clair papers*, Vol. II, pp. 444, 446.) He then offered it to the Territorial Legislature and later to the State Legislature, pressing its acceptance.

<sup>5</sup>The contract as modified Oct. 15, 1788. (Cf. previous note.)

<sup>6</sup>May 5, 1792, Congress enacted, "That the President be and he is hereby authorized and empowered, by letters patent as aforesaid, to grant and convey to the said John Cleves Symmes, and his associates, their heirs and assigns, in trust for the purpose of establishing an Academy and other public schools and seminaries of learning, one complete township. Cf. *U. S. Statutes*, Vol. I, pp. 266-7.

<sup>7</sup>The patent issued by President Washington to Symmes Sept. 30th, 1794 (the original document is in the possession of the Society), states that "one complete township or tract of land, of six miles square, to be located with the approbation of the governor for the time being, of the Territory Northwest of the river Ohio, and in the manner, and within the term of the five years aforesaid, as nearly as may be, in the center of the tract of land, hereinbefore granted, hath been and is granted and shall be holden in trust, to and for the sale and exclusive interest and purpose of erecting and establishing therein, an academy and other public schools and seminaries of learning, and endowing and supporting the same and to and for no other use, intent or purpose whatever. Cf. *Laws of the United States*, Vol. I, p. 497.



governor's approbation must be surplussage and naught. The patentee did locate one complete township,<sup>8</sup> and notified the same to the public, and to the governor within the purview of the act; and within the time mentioned in the patent; and there are tenants now living within the township, under the lease of the patentee, as trustee of the College lands, and no other person or improvements are thereon. The township is a good tract of land, no part of it is inferior to second rate, and some thousands of acres of it are denominated first rate lands. The act granting a township for the use of an Academy, does not demand out of the grant, a township of the first quality; and it would seem just that those who paid a high price for their lands, as some did to the United States, should have as good or better, if there were a difference in the soil, than those who had lands given to them gratis, as was the College township.

This township was not preserved from sale and occupancy, because it was inferior in quality to others; but because it was supposed to be of more value than any other township in the grant, from its local situation, being nearer to the Ohio and Great Miami, both navigable rivers, than any other whole township within the purchase. There are more townships within the patent of inferior quality of soil, than there are of those that are superior; and the township for which some contend, in its natural state, was in no way superior. It is now rendered more valuable, only by improvements, and a high state of cultivation.

The claim set up by Mr. Boudinot<sup>9</sup> to the College township, is vague and conditional, and on his part the conditions have never been fulfilled. That which he founds his pretensions upon, is a document several months older than the original con-

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<sup>8</sup>"The second township in the second fractional range in the district between the Ohio and Great Miami."

<sup>9</sup>Dr. Elias Boudinot, "Scientist, statesman and philanthropist," was of Philadelphia, Penna. March 2nd, 1788, he entered into an agreement with Symmes to purchase for a stipulated amount an undivided moiety of the township reserved by him for his own use and later offered for the college township. Sometime after this Dr. Boudinot brought suit in the courts to compel the performance of the contract. In 1802 the Circuit Court of the United States for the District of Pennsylvania rendered a final decree which "ordered the defendant to execute and deliver to the said Elias Boudinot a deed conveying to him in fee simple an undivided moiety of the said township." Cf. *Burnet's Notes*, pp. 414-416 and 493-4. Also the *McBride MSS.*



tract itself, and no lien on the land can thence accrue. If he had lived up to the conditions of his contract, which he by no means did, yet his redress could only be personal against the grantee, and not real; for no color of fee could pass by the document he holds. This township was the only one which, at the passing of the law, had not been broken by sales; not preserved entire with design of presenting it as a college township, for no such township was expected; but by mere accident, it being that part of the purchase which the grantee had originally intended for himself; but which was afterwards agreed to be divided between twenty-four proprietors, on each proprietor paying a twenty-fourth of the purchase money to congress, and from this cause lay unsevered and unoccupied, until the passage of the act of the 5th of May, 1792, giving one entire township for the use of an Academy.

But it proved fortunate in this respect, that not one of the 24 proprietors had ever paid a cent to congress, or the grantee on this township, towards the purchase money due to the United States therefor; and for the payment whereof, every one of the 24 proprietors were in the first instance bound to the grantee.

On the patentee obtaining his patent including one township gratis, for academical purposes, every one of the 24 proprietors were considered as exonerated of the two-thirds of a dollar per acre for this township, and a settlement was made with them on the principle, that, the reserved entire township should be appropriated for the use of an Academy; and no proprietor was charged with more than a 24th of the purchase money, which the fractions lying between the entire township and the two rivers, Ohio and Miami came to; and even his proportion of the price of these fractions, Mr. Boudinot has never paid.

There was no other township at the passing of the act, that could be appropriated for the purpose. There is no other at present; this is the only township in the patent for which the United States have not paid. If it be not accepted as the College township, it remains still the property of the United States; and they can do as they please with it.<sup>10</sup>

Washington City, 30th January, 1802.

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<sup>10</sup>Congress by its act of 1803 assumed the claim of the State against Symmes and gave the State in return a township west of the Miami River in the District of Cincinnati.





## II.

### COPY OF ENTRY NO. 204 IN THE BOOKS OF THE REGISTER OF THE UNITED STATES LAND OFFICE AT CINCINNATI.

LAND OFFICE AT CINCINNATI,

1st September, 1803.

Sections No. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, East half 11, 12, 13, East half 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, East half 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36 in Township No. 5 of Range No. 1 and Section No. 30 and 31 in Township No. 5 of Range No. 2, also the West half of Sec. No. 6 in Township No. 4 Range No. 2.

We William Ludlow<sup>11</sup> and Jacob White<sup>12</sup> Agreeably to an act of Congress passed on the third day of March, 1803, and in conformity to a law of the State of Ohio passed on the fifteenth day of April, 1803, have entered with the register of the land office at Cincinnati the following sections of land to-wit, Sections No. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, East half 11, 12, 13, East half 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, East half 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36 in Township No. 5 Range No. 1, Section No. 30 and 31 in Township No. 5 Range No. 2 and the West half of Section No. 6 in Township No. 4, Range No. 2 the aforesaid thirty-six sections are lying East of a Meridian drawn from the mouth of the Great Miami river which together contains twenty-three thousand three hundred and twenty-one acres and sixty-eight hundredths of an acre as appear by the returns of the Surveyor General.

William Ludlow,  
Jacob White,

Comrs.<sup>13</sup> for the State of Ohio.

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<sup>11</sup>William Ludlow, son of Col. Cornelius Ludlow of Long Hill, Morris Co., N. J., and younger brother of Israel Ludlow, prominent in the early writing of the Miami Valley, moved to Ohio, being one of the early settlers in the Mill Creek Valley. Later he removed to Oxford, where he superintended the erection of the college buildings. He represented Hamilton County in the House of Representatives in 1809-10; Butler County



### III.

## JAMES McBRIDE TO JEREMIAH MORROW.<sup>14</sup>

Dear Sir,

HAMILTON, MARCH 18th, 1844.

In the Journals of the House of Representatives of the state of Ohio of the session commencing in December, 1803, Page 36, the report of the commissioners appointed to locate the college township, it is mentioned in such manner, that it appears as though the location was made by Jacob White and William Ludlow. And as I understand that you were one of the most active members in the matter, would you be good enough, if it does not trespass too much on your time, to write me a line or two on the subject, giving me information of what occurred at the time, relative to that business, such as the date of the exploration of the country, and date of the location of the township, if within your recollection.

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in 1811-12; and Franklin County in 1815-16. He served as one of the commissioners on the boundary line between the Public Lands and the Virginia Reservation and was president of the Board of Trustees of Miami University 1810 to 1813. He was a resident of Franklin County in 1815, but the year following he was again a resident of Oxford, where he, James M. Dorsey and others organized the "Rational Society of Oxford." Cf. *McBride's MSS.*, Vol. IV, pp. 99-115.

<sup>12</sup>Captain Jacob White was descended from Edward White of Somerset Co., N. J. He moved to Washington Co., Penn., prior to 1776 and removed to Ohio about 1788 and built a block house known as White's Station upon the site of Carthage. He died in Gallatin Co., Ky., July 20, 1849. Cf. *Historical and Biographical Encyclopedia*, Vol. II, p. 471-2; Teetor's *History of Mill Creek Valley*, p. 30.

<sup>13</sup>Jeremiah Morrow was the most influential member of this commission. The part he had in the work and the reason his name was not appended to the report is shown in letters III and IV.

<sup>14</sup>Jeremiah Morrow (1771-1852) was born in York County, Penn., but moved to Columbia, O., in 1795, where he served as a surveyor and school-teacher. In 1799 he removed to the lands purchased by Symmes on the Little Miami River. In 1800 he was elected to the Legislature of the Northwest Territory and was a member of the Constitutional Convention. In 1803 was a member of the Senate in the first Legislature of Ohio. The same year he was elected to the U. S. Congress from Ohio, remaining until 1813; U. S. Senator 1813-1819; Governor of Ohio 1822-1826; was elected to the State Senate 1826 and to the House of Representatives 1829-30 and 1835-36. From 1840 to 1843 he again served in Congress. Was Promoter and President of Miami Valley Rail Road. He was Trustee of Miami University 1836 to 1852, serving as President of the Board 1847-1852, and was deeply interested in the welfare of the University to the time of his death. Henry Clay said of him: "No man within the sphere within which he acted ever commanded or deserved the implicit confidence of Congress more than Jeremiah Morrow." Cf. *Morrow's History of Warren Co., O.*, pp. 360-7.



#### IV.

#### JEREMIAH MORROW TO JAMES McBRIDE.

*Dear Sir,*

TWENTY MILES STAND, APRIL 1st, 1844.

In answer to your enquiries respecting the proceedings in relation to the location and entry at the land office of the college township, I state facts as far as my recollection will enable me after a lapse of forty years from the transactions. The proposition made by our state convention for a grant of a township of the public lands to be made in lieu of that granted in trust to John C. Symmes for establishing an academy, &c., having been accorded to by Congress, the general assembly<sup>15</sup> at their April session in 1803—the first session under the state constitution—passed an act authorizing the selection and location of a township for the purpose, and appointing three commissioners to carry it into effect, who should complete the business on or before the 1st of October next following. My name being first in the commission, on the adjournment of the Legislature I called on my associates Jacob White and William Ludlow to settle the arrangement for carrying the act into effect. Mr. White for reasons assigned could not attend to the business at that time. With Mr. Ludlow it was agreed that he should make examination at the land office and obtain the necessary information to enable us to execute the trust, and to fix the time for taking a view of the public lands west of the Miami. The exploration was made by Mr. Ludlow and myself about mid summer, the view was satisfactory in preferring, by both, the present college township for location. It was known to us that a few sections of the township had been entered but of the particular Nos. we were uninformed. Mr. Ludlow, [being] convenient to [the] land office, agreed to ascertain the facts in order that the location could be made complete. A delay ensued. I had no information from Mr. Ludlow, and an unexpected call by President Jefferson for Congress to meet early in October put it out of my power to give more attention to the business. Of this Mr. Ludlow was informed. I had no agency in the selection of the particular sections to supply for those sold in the township; nor in making the entry at the

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<sup>15</sup>Cf. *Laws of Ohio*, Vol. I, p. 66.



land office or return to the offices of the United States and state Government as required by law. Whether any other exploration was made than that by Mr. Ludlow and myself I never was informed.

## V.

### THE COMMISSIONERS' REPORT, ESTABLISHING THE PERMANENT SEAT OF THE MIAMI UNIVERSITY.

YELLOW SPRINGS, GREEN COUNTY, STATE OF OHIO,

AUGUST 16th, 1809.

We the commissioners appointed by the Act of the Legislature of the State of Ohio, passed February the seventeenth, eighteen hundred and nine, "establishing the Miami University" for the purpose of selecting the most proper place for the permanent seat of said University, *Report*:

That, we have examined John Cleve Symmes' purchase, and have chosen a Site in the county of Warren on the western side of the town of Lebanon on the land of Ichabod Corwin<sup>16</sup> at a white oak tree,<sup>17</sup> marked with the letters M. U. V.

In testimony whereof, we have hereunto set our hands and seals the day above written.

Alexander Campbell<sup>18</sup> } Commissioners.<sup>20</sup>  
James Kilbourn<sup>19</sup> }

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<sup>16</sup>Ichabod Corwin (died 1834) moved from Kentucky to Warren Co., O., prior to 1800. He was one of the original proprietors of Lebanon and offered a tract of forty-one acres there as a site for the Miami University. Lebanon at this time was one of the most prominent settlements in the Symmes Purchase north of Cincinnati. Cf. Morrow's *History of Warren Co., O.*, pp. 449-51; Drake's *Cincinnati and the Miami Country* (1815).

<sup>17</sup>The tomb of Hon. Thomas Corwin stands now on the spot where this tree grew. Cf. Morrow's *History of Warren Co.*, p. 451.

<sup>18</sup>Alexander Campbell, Jr., born in Greenbriar Co., Va., 1779, moved in childhood to Tennessee and afterwards to Kentucky. Studied medicine at Lexington, Ky., under Doctors Reigley and Brown. In 1801 he began the practice of medicine at Cynthiana and during his residence there served in the Kentucky Legislature. Removed to Adams County, O., in 1804. Was member of the Legislature in 1807 to 1809, serving one term as Speaker of the House; U. S. Senator 1809 to 1813; State Senator 1822-23; Member of the lower House 1832 and 1833, and candidate for Governor of the State in 1826. Cf. Evans & Stivers *"History of Adams Co., O."* pp. 279-80.

<sup>19</sup>James Kilbourne was born in Connecticut, 1770. He took orders in the Episcopal Church in 1802. Organized the Scioto Company,





## VI.

### WILLIAM LUDLOW TO JAMES SMITH.<sup>21</sup>

Sir,

CHILLICOTHE, JANUARY — 1810.

Yesterday I received your letter. Am happy in spending a few moments in compliance with your request. With pleasure I can inform you that it is reduced nearly<sup>20</sup> to a certainty that the College will be placed upon the Township in your County. A bill<sup>22</sup> has passed in the Senate by a large majority to that effect, and I think from all appearances we have nothing to fear in the house of representatives. Should it turn out to

which he conducted to Ohio in 1803. Was made Captain of the North Western Frontier in 1804. District Surveyor in 1805 to 1814. In 1806 he brought out a number of the groups of settlers to Central Ohio. Was *Trustee of the Ohio College at Athens*. Elected Colonel of the Frontier Militia. Member of the 13th and 14th Congresses and of the General Assembly of Ohio 1823-24 and 1838-39. Cf. "*Old North West*" *Geneological Quarterly*, Vol. VI, pp. 111-137.

<sup>20</sup>The third member of the Commission as constituted by the Legislature was Robert G. Wilson, D.D., pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Chillicothe. He afterwards served as president of the Ohio University at Athens 1824 to 1839. (Cf. Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit*, Vol. IV, pp. 122-6.) Because of his failure to serve on the Commission and of the Governor's failure to appoint another to act in his stead, as provided by the Legislature (Cf. Sec. XX of "An Act Establishing Miami University," passed February 17, 1809), that body rejected the report of the Committee and directed that the town of Oxford be laid off on the college lands and that the University be located at that place. (Cf. "An Act to Amend an Act Entitled, 'An Act to Establish Miami University,' passed February 6, 1810.")

<sup>21</sup>James Smith ("Sheriff Smith") was born 1763, in Cumberland Co., Pa. He moved to Cincinnati in 1792, where for ten years he, in partnership with General James Findlay, kept a store at the foot of Broadway. For many years he served as sheriff of Hamilton County. Also as government collector of revenue for the North West Territory and for a time acted as private secretary for Governor St. Clair. During the second war with Great Britain he was paymaster of the 1st Regiment of the Ohio Militia. About 1805 he removed to Butler County and located near the mouth of the Four Mile Creek, where he resided until his death. McBride's *Pioneer Biography*, Vol. II, pp. 214-216.

<sup>22</sup>The bill was introduced by Mr. Cooper of Dayton.



my hopes I intend being an inhabitant of your County by moving on the College township. Be pleased to give my best respects to friend Reily, and believe me your friend and well wisher.

## VII.

### JAMES McBRIDE TO WILLIAM LUDLOW.

Sir,

HAMILTON, AUGUST 31st, 1811.

. . . I perceive from the numberless enquiries which are made of me from day to day, that a considerable damp exists upon the minds of many purchasers in the College Township, as well as a difficulty with many more who wish to become purchasers, in consequence of the original purchaser always standing charged on the books of the institution with the interest annually due on the purchase money.<sup>23</sup> The original purchaser feels alarmed because the account on the books stands against him, and should the person in possession of the assigned fail to pay the interest annually the Treasurer and Collector will consequently proceed against him. And on the other hand the purchaser feels reluctant to purchase because he thinks the land not so completely his without his name being inserted on the books and the name of the original purchaser entirely erased or withdrawn. Now I have been reflecting with myself, why these doubts and difficulties could not be removed. . . .

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<sup>23</sup>The purchasers of the college lands were given leases "for the term of ninety-nine years, renewable forever, at an annual rent of six per centum of the amount of the purchase money." (Cf. *Laws of Ohio*, Vol. VIII, p. 94.) This unusual form of tenure and the difficulties connected with the transfer of the land, together with the fact that lands held in fee simple might be had at very low prices, deterred the best class of settlers from locating on the college lands and resulted in their being taken up by those who were not able to pay the purchase price of lands. Many of these squatted for a time on the college lands, but failing to pay the interest, forfeited the lands to the corporation. From the records of the Board of Trustees it would appear that for a number of years most of their energies were devoted to devising a satisfactory system of land holding and transfer. Cf. *Laws and Ordinances of Miami University* (1833), pp. 45-78.



## VIII.

### SAMUEL J. BROWNE<sup>24</sup> TO JAMES McBRIDE.

Dear Sir,

CINCINNATI, JAN. 9th, 1811.

I have just received a letter from my Father dated the 5th inst. on his journey on the College Business<sup>25</sup> in which he writes—"On receiving this you will immediately forward a line "to J. McBride, Esqr., the secretary of the Miami University, "and request him to send *me a neat plat of the town of Oxford* "and *mark* thereon the lots and out lots which are *sold* and a "general statement of sales with the aggregate amount of the "purchase money, so as to be able to form an estimate of the "future income of the interest." In addition to the foregoing extract, he desires you would send him a list of the *Trustees* and any other information you can furnish him with. Let the Plat of the Town of Oxford be drawn on a large sheet of fine Letter Paper if it can be conveniently procured, and on the opposite leaf your observations, &c.

Have the goodness to direct to John W. Browne, Post Office, Pittsburgh. Be particular to send the letter off by Sunday's Mail otherwise it will not reach him. Should it be by accident delayed you will then direct to the Federal City.

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<sup>24</sup>Samuel J. Browne, son of Rev. John W. Browne, migrated with his father from England to Cincinnati and was associated with his father in publishing the Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Mercury, and upon his father's death succeeded to his interests. Later he established the Cincinnati Gazette.

<sup>25</sup>May 26, 1810, a committee of the Trustees, consisting of Rev. J. L. Wilson and Messrs. Daniel Symmes and William Ludlow, was appointed to correspond with suitable characters relative to employing an agent or agents to go to the eastern states for the purpose of receiving donations and gratuities for the use of Miami University. June 23 the Board, upon the recommendation of the committee, authorized the appointment of "Rev. John W. Browne a missionary to solicit and receive donations for the use of the institution," at a salary of \$50 per month and expenses, "provided the donations collected be sufficient to meet the above mentioned sums." Cf. *Records of Board of Trustees of Miami University*.



## IX.

JAMES McBRIDE TO REV. JOHN W. BROWNE.<sup>26</sup>

*Dear Sir:*

HAMILTON, JANUARY 12th, 1811.

I yesterday received a line from your son Saml. J. Browne which informed me that you were upon your mission on behalf of the Miami University and that you requested a plat of the town of Oxford, etc. In pursuance of which request I immediately sat down to draw the plat requested which I have just now compleated and herewith transmit it you—on which you will observe those lots which have been sold are stained with red, the four town lots No. 55, 56, 73 & 74 are set apart for public uses. You will also recollect that the in lots of the town are each four poles in width from north to south by ten poles in length from east to west. The out lots are 25 poles by 25.6 poles each lot containing four acres, the streets through the town are each six poles in width, the alleys each one pole wide and the streets through the out lots each four poles in width, main street runs due N. & S. High street runs due east and west and the residue of the streets and alleys run either parallel with or across the same at right angles. From the calculations which I have made from the sale books the University appears to have in stock \$56509.53.5—being the amount of lots and land alre[a]dy sold which at six per cent per an.[num] will yield an annual interest of \$3390.57.2—to the University should it be punctually paid up. The names of the trustees first appointed to superintend the business are, Hiram Mirack Curry<sup>27</sup> and William Ward<sup>28</sup> of Champaign

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<sup>26</sup>John W. Browne (1754-1812) was born at Bristol, Eng. He and his family moved to America in 1794 and arrived at Cincinnati, 1798. In 1802 he was one of the delegates from Hamilton County to the Constitutional Convention. In 1804 he was ordained to the ministry and preached stately for the Paddy's Run (Butler Co.) Congregation. During the same year he purchased "The Liberty Hall," which he and his son Samuel edited up to the time of his departure upon his "Eastern Mission." Soon after his return from the east he was drowned while crossing the Little Miami River to fill an appointment in Clermont County.

<sup>27</sup>Hiram Mirack Curry. Represented Champaign County in the State Senate 1808-1811 and in the House 1813-1814.

<sup>28</sup>Colonel William Ward moved to Champaign County, O., from Greenbrier, Va. In 1805 he laid out and named the town of Urbana. Cf. *Howe's Collections*, Vol. I, p. 81.





County, James Brown and David H. Morris<sup>29</sup> of Miami County, Wm. McClure<sup>30</sup> & Benjamin Van Cleve<sup>31</sup> of Montgomery County, Benjamin Whiteman<sup>32</sup> & Andrew Reed<sup>33</sup> of Green County, John Biggar<sup>34</sup> & Ichabod B. Halsey<sup>35</sup> of Warren County, John Reily<sup>36</sup> and Thos. Irwin<sup>37</sup> of Butler Co. to whom when the Amendatory act was passed were added the Revr'd. Joshua L. Wilson,<sup>38</sup> James Findlay,<sup>39</sup> Dan'l. Symmes,<sup>40</sup> Stephen Wood,<sup>41</sup> William Ludlow, Ogden Ross,<sup>42</sup> William Corry<sup>43</sup> & James Shields.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>29</sup>D. H. Morris was one of the first settlers of Miami County, where he resided as early as 1798. Cf. *Howe's Collections*, Vol. I, p. 358.

<sup>30</sup>William McClure was one of the incorporators of Dayton Academy in 1807. He and George Smith began publishing the Dayton Repertory, Sept. 18, 1808. Cf. *History of Dayton*.

<sup>31</sup>Benjamin Van Cleve was born in Monmouth County, New Jersey. Moved with his parents to Washington County, Penn., in 1785, and to Cincinnati in 1799. Served in the Quartermaster's Department at Fort Washington and in St. Clair's expedition. Removed to Dayton, April 10, 1796, being one of the first party to locate there. In 1800 he taught the first school opened in Dayton. Was Clerk of the Court of Montgomery County 1803 to 1821, and Postmaster of Dayton 1804 to 1821. In 1805 he, with others, incorporated the Dayton Library. "Though self-educated, he was a man of much information and became a prominent and useful citizen." Cf. *History of Dayton*, pp. 21-24.

<sup>32</sup>Benjamin Whiteman (1769-1832) served in the Revolutionary War. Moved from Virginia and settled on Beaver Creek, Greene Co., O., in 1798, where he was Associate Judge of the county from 1803 to 1807. Was a member of the Clark Expedition. Cf. Robinson's *History of Greene Co.*, p. 45.

<sup>33</sup>Andrew Read moved from New Jersey to Greene County, O., in 1803. Served as County Commissioner 1807-1809.

<sup>34</sup>John Biggar was a native of Pennsylvania, but settled in Ohio, having received a patent for lands northwest of Lebanon. He was elected to the Ohio Legislature twenty times and was Speaker of the Ho. of Rep. 1821-22. Also a candidate for Governor, 1826, but was defeated by Allen Trimble. He presided at the first meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Miami University. Cf. Morrow's *History of Warren Co.*, O., pp. 390-1.

<sup>35</sup>Ichabod B. Halsey was a son of Major Daniel Halsey of New Jersey. He was a large land owner and prominent citizen of Warren County, Ohio, and County Commissioner 1812-1817. Cf. Morrow's *History of Warren County*, p. 435.

<sup>36</sup>John Reily (1763-1850) was born in Chester County, Penn. When about five years of age his parents moved to Virginia. He served under Greene in the Southern Campaign and at the close of the Revolutionary War moved to Kentucky, but in 1789 he took up his residence at Columbia, O., where in 1790 he opened the first school in the Miami Country. He was Deputy Clerk of the Court of Hamilton County 1794-99; Clerk of the General Assembly of the North West Territory 1799-1801; Member of the Constitutional Convention of 1802. In 1803 he moved to Hamilton and was Clerk of Court of Butler County 1803-1840; Recorder of Butler County 1803-1841; Postmaster of Hamilton 1807-1832; Trustee of Miami University 1809-1840 and President of the Board of Trustees 1813 to 1824. "Respected for his intelligence . . . the crowning glory of his life was



The narrow limits of my paper compel me to give you the information you request in a very summary way, but should it be incomplete or should you stand in need of any thing else with which I can furnish you, only drop me a line and it shall be attended to with infinite pleasure and the greatest of punctuality. In the mean time acknowledge the receipt of this by the earliest conveyance to satisfy me that it reaches you safe and I trust you will find leisure from time to time to

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his spotless purity, his scrupulous honesty, and his unsullied integrity." Cf. McBride's *Pioneer Biography*, Vol. I, pp. 1-70.

<sup>37</sup>Thomas Irwin (1768-1847), born in Lancaster County, Penn. Moved to Cincinnati 1789, where he erected the first hewed log house in the town. He was a member of both the Harmer and St. Clair Expeditions, and after peace with the Indians had been established he located near Blue Ball, Butler Co., O. During the War of 1812 he served as Major of the Militia. Member of the State Senate 1808-1820 and of the Ho. of Rep. 1824-25. Cf. McBride's *Pioneer Biography*, Vol. I, pp. 107-178.

<sup>38</sup>Rev. Joshua L. Wilson, 1774-1846, was a native of Bradford Co., Va., but moved with his parents to Kentucky in 1784. He was educated for the ministry and ordained by Presbytery of Transylvania. Was pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Bardstown, Ky., 1804-1808, and of the First Presbyterian Church of Cincinnati 1808-1846. Cf. Greve's *Centennial History of Cincinnati*, Vol. I, p. 481.

<sup>39</sup>General James Findlay (1775-1835), a native of Pennsylvania, located in Cincinnati, where he with James Smith established the first store. He was a member of the Legislative Council of the North West Territory; U. S. Marshall in 1801; Mayor of Cincinnati 1810-11; Colonel of an Ohio Regiment during the war of 1812-15; General of the Ohio Militia, and Representative in Congress 1825-1833. Cf. Greve's *Centennial History of Cincinnati*, Vol. I, p. 319.

<sup>40</sup>Daniel Symmes (1772-1827) was a nephew of John Cleves Symmes, Sr. He was born in New Jersey and graduated from Princeton. A prominent citizen of early Cincinnati. He served as Sheriff of Hamilton County 1796-9; Clerk of the Territorial Court 1802-3; State Senator 1804, presiding over that body during one session. President of the Select Committee of the Town of Cincinnati 1808-1809. Judge of the Supreme Court and Register of the Land Office 1814-1827. Cf. Greve's *Centennial History of Cincinnati*, Vol. I, p. —

<sup>41</sup>Stephen Wood was a physician residing at North Bend.

<sup>42</sup>Ogden Ross, "an old pioneer of Hamilton."

<sup>43</sup>William Corry (1779-1833) was born in Virginia, but moved to Cincinnati in 1798. Studied law under William McMillan and was admitted to the bar in 1803. Removed to Hamilton in 1804 and entered into partnership with John Reily. Married in 1810 and returned to Cincinnati. Member of the General Assembly 1807-1808. Mayor of Cincinnati 1815-1819. Greve's *Centennial History of Cincinnati*, Vol. I, p. 440.

<sup>44</sup>James Shields (1763-1831) was born in the north of Ireland; educated at the University of Glasgow and migrated to America 1791, residing for 13 years in Pennsylvania and Virginia. In 1805 he removed to Morgan Township, Butler County, Ohio. Was a member of the State Legislature for 19 years and of Congress from 1829 to 1831. Cf. *History and Biographical Encyclopedia of Butler Co.*, pp. 92-3.



write me a line from your different stations to inform me of your welfare and success. At present whilst I bid you adieu, that your success may be such as shall hereafter entitle you to the appellation of *the friend & father of our institution* is the sincere prayer of him who has the honour to be with sentiments of respect and esteem.

X.

REV. JOHN W. BROWNE TO JAMES McBRIDE.

Dear Sir: ST. GEORGES, DELAWARE STATE, JULY 18, 1811.

Thro' the medium of my son, Saml J Browne, I acknowledged the receipt of your favor containing the plan of the town of Oxford, its in and out lots and the necessary information respecting the sale of lots, trustees, &c. &c. for which you will please to accept my sincere thanks.

The agency in which I am engaged I find difficult & discouraging beyond every previous calculation. The general stagnation of commerce, the great scarcity of cash, & the uncertain issue of public negotiations, have all conspired to paralyze the hand of benevolence & leave the solicitor in innumerable instances to feed on the *good wishes* of those who have been accustomed to *acts* of liberality & bounty. Had I consulted my own private feelings on such occasions I should [have] long ago turned back & either relinquished the object, or waited a more propitious season. But being embarked in a cause in which a retreat would appear cowardice I continued to persevere, and have found some evidences that patience & perseverance will, in a measure accomplish that, which at first sight, appears almost an unsurmountable difficulty.

I soon found that to procure cash equal to the expectations of the trustees or my own expectations was quite out of the question. The members of Congress almost to a man discouraged the application on the ground that "Congress having done so much for the state of Ohio, it became her to stretch forth her legislative hand to provide means for forwarding the Buildings &c." and "How can the trustees expect *strangers* will subscribe to erecting a College in the State of Ohio when her *own Citizens* have not come forward to afford any pecuniary as-



sistance thereto." Believe me, Sir, I have been frequently obliged to rack invention to find plausible but true replies to such sort of observations & interrogations. I frequently found myself completely embarrassed, until in addition to soliciting of Cash I ventured on Books. This opened a new field of exertion, and its consequence has been mutually assisting to each other. Thro' the attention of Mr. Thomas Carpenter, late of Washington City, but now a resident in Cincinnati, my first efforts were made among the Booksellers which have since been accompanied with considerable success, and I have no doubt but under his charge about 200 volumes have reached Cincinnati. To the care of Mr. McIntire,<sup>45</sup> who I trust has also arrived e'er this time, were committed two trunks containing at least 200 vols. more, and to the charge of Mr. Thomas Findlay<sup>46</sup> & Mr. Van Lear of Baltimore, I suppose I have left 2 trunks more containing nearly 260 vols. more, so that of one kind & another we have a library of upwards of 550 vols. Last week I embraced an opportunity of purchasing a set of Globes—treatise connected with them—a Hebrew Bible & Lexicon & Greek & Latin Lexicon together with a set of magazines, being a lot that I thought of considerable consequence to the institution, the whole of which cost me but abt. 57 dls. I trust the gentlemen will see the propriety of the purchase; if it should be questioned, I will most cheerfully take them to myself, but I am mistaken if the Globes themselves are not nearly worth  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the whole sum.

As I am now engaged in the employ of the University I take for granted the account of sales or of purchases which I made will remain in statu quo till my return. If it should not be too much trouble I will be gratified with a line stating the last sales and the general account: also a list of what I purchased<sup>47</sup> as I have not the list with me. Perhaps I may sell to some *actual* settler—as I wish to encourage the settlement.

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<sup>45</sup>James McIntyre, grocer, is the only person of this name mentioned in the Cincinnati Directory of 1819.

<sup>46</sup>Thomas Finley (as he spelled the name) was a brother of General James Findlay. He held the office of Marshall of the District of Maryland for a time. Cf. *Quarterly*, Vol. II.

<sup>47</sup>At the sale of college lands held at Hamilton, May 22, 1810, Rev. John W. Browne bid off In-lots No. 3, 39, 40, 87, 88, 91, 95 and 103; also Out-lots No. 5, 15, 19, 20, 23, 27, 6 and 16, all of which the books show to have been forfeited. Cf. *Sale Book*.





TRENTON IN THE STATE OF JERSEY—16 AUGT. 1811.

When I wrote the above I had intended sending it off immediately but meeting with an accident in being overset in a carriage wherein, tho' completely soosed in the mud, I received no great personal injury, yet it thus occasioned a delay until I thought it would not reach you till after the day of sales. I hope this will reach you before the meeting of Trustees on 3rd Sept. In addition to general statement sent to Mr. Symmes I have the satisfaction to say that I have been somewhat successful in this town: my receipts from 15 dills. received in this town, it has now advanced to abt. 50 dills.—so that my sum total 808.83½: and in this town collected abt. 80 or 90 vol: some very useful ones. I expect to receive a few dollars & a few books more & this evening proceed on towards Princeton & Brunswick. The Gov.[ernor] has interested himself for me, so has Stacy Potts who is mayor of [the] town, through whose kindness I have been free of expense since I have been in the town, and I have letters of introduction to several persons as I go along.

The Governor<sup>48</sup> requested His compts. to Mr. Reily.

To have a plat of the township & in it, the situation of the town of Oxford, would be useful to me; Say, has any plan been fixed of the building? What progress, if any, of the building?<sup>49</sup> I cannot be furnished with too many particulars. Your plat of the town &c. has been very satisfactory to many.

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<sup>48</sup>Joseph Bloomfield was Governor of New Jersey from 1803 to 1812, and represented his State in Congress 1817-1821. Cf. *Dictionary of Congress*, p. 35.

<sup>49</sup>At the meeting of the Board of Trustees held at Hamilton, February 13, 1811, it was ordered that there should be erected on the University Square in the town of Oxford, a house or building for the use of the school . . . The expense of the same should not exceed one hundred and fifty dollars. Work on the building must have been begun soon after this, for at its meeting, Sept. 4, of the same year, an appropriation of eighty dollars was made "for the purpose of completing the schoolhouse." In his report to the Legislature in 1815 the Secretary states that the building was completed at a total cost of \$297.00. Evidently this building must have been of the same design as the "Log College" that is preserved upon the campus of Jefferson Academy at Cannonsburg, Pennsylvania.



# XI.

REV. JOHN W. BROWNE TO WILLIAM LUDLOW.

*Dear Sir:*

TRENTON, 16 AUGT. 1811.

I just take the pen to inform you that I this day saw Mr. Slack, son of Mr. Slack,<sup>50</sup> one of the settlers in the University Township, & that he wd. receive any communications from his father of particulars concerning the purchase which was made by him on acct. of his son. Respecting the discharging the first annual payment he cannot do it at present. He wishes to hear from his father as soon as possible directed to him as usual in Trenton.

Various are the enquiries made by individuals respecting your welfare & of your family.

The sky seems to brighten respecting the object of my mission. I have received in this town 62 dls. 69 cents. & order for 11 dls. 2 cents which I expect to collect on my way home, (the person lives near Zanesville): together with about an hundred vols. some of which are truly valuable. I do calculate on a large library although I fear that my cash acct. will be but small. I should be highly gratified by having a line from you. I feel myself neglected that I have not received a line from the corresponding committee since my departure from Cin<sup>a</sup>. If the trustees are dissatisfied I should be glad with a speedy hint, as I am determined to close my exertions in N. Y. and make towards home on the 1st of October unless I hear something satisfactory by that time. I have no doubt but I can procure at least 2000 vol<sup>s</sup>: but the work is tedious to an extreme. Dr. Smith<sup>51</sup> of Princeton received me with much politeness. gave me 5 dls. & has promised to look out some books by the

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<sup>50</sup>Aug. 29, 1810, John Slack purchased Farm-lot No. 6 in 29. Cf. *Sale Book*.

<sup>51</sup>Samuel Stanhope Smith, D. D., LL. D., 1750-1819. Graduated from Princeton 1768. Founded Hampden Sidney College. Professor of Moral Philosophy at Princeton 1779. On the death of his father-in-law, Prest. Witherspoon, in 1792, he was elected to the presidency of the institution, which office he retained until 1812.



time I go forward to Brunswick. Providence is favoring the institution in a most remarkable manner by preventing expenses. I find a constant opening of hospitable friends. Tell Major Murray<sup>52</sup> that I am now at the house of Stacy Potts; the old Gent: tho' 80 years of age is well & hearty, his good lady (formerly Mrs. Boyd) enjoys good health & they live in a very genteel & easy stile. I am endeavoring to find out such persons as own land in the State & ply *them* pretty closely. I expect tomorrow to wait on Ralph Philips of Maidenhead, he has invited me to call on him. Your friend Revd. Mr. Collick is gone to Georgia—just preparing to start for Maidenhead.

## XII.

### EXTRACT FROM THE JOURNAL OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF MIAMI UNIVERSITY TRANS- MITTED BY JAMES MCBRIDE TO MESSRS. FINDLAY, SYMMES AND CORRY.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 6th, 1813.

Resolved; That Messrs. James Findlay, Daniel Symmes and William Corry, members of the Board of Trustees of the Miami University, be, and the same are hereby appointed a Committee to call upon the administrators of the Estate of the late Reverend John W. Browne, deceased, and to make a full and final settlement with the said Estate and to receive all moneys, Books, papers and other property, which has been collected or received by Mr. Browne in behalf of this Institution while acting as a missionary in the state of Ohio and elsewhere in the years 1811 and 1812. And the Books which they may receive, or any part thereof, to dispose of in such manner as they may think proper, should they deem it most advantageous to the Institution.

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<sup>52</sup>Major William Murray settled in Hamilton prior to 1814, where he kept a tavern for a number of years. McBride's *Pioneers*, Vol. I, p. 148.



### XIII.

#### SAMUEL J. BROWNE TO THE PRESIDENT AND TRUSTEES OF MIAMI UNIVERSITY.

CINCINNATI, OCTOBER 3d, 1815.

. . . The report herewith communicated was found among my much valued father's papers after his unfortunate decease. As it is copiously written in his own hand, it will doubtless elucidate the subject to the satisfaction of the President and trustees of the Miami University.

The list of Cash and Books &c., Received as spoken of in the Report is herewith rendered. It may perhaps be imperfect in a few of the Books. Any further information that the Prest. & Trustees may be desirous of having and in my power to communicate, will be furnished with pleasure.

### XIV.

#### REPORT OF REV. JOHN W. BROWNE TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE TRUSTEES OF MIAMI UNIVERSITY.

CINCINNATI, AUGUST — 1812.

Sir:

As it is necessary that the Trustees of the Miami University should be in possession of a statement of particular circumstances which occurred in the accomplishment of the Mission which, under their authority, was undertaken by me to procure subscriptions, donations or benefactions for the use of the Miami University in the United States: I herewith communicate my Report for their information.

On the 4th day of January 1811, I left Cincinnati and proceeded to Williamsburgh<sup>53</sup> where I spent the Sabbath. As

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<sup>53</sup>The road to Pittsburg led through Williamsburg, O., and passing to the south and east of Hillsboro connected with the Chillicothe and Maysville Road one mile north of Bainbridge. For a description of the experiences of a traveler over the road from this point to Pittsburg Cf. Cummins' *Sketches of a Tour* (1810), pp. 191-236. Williamsburg, though laid out by William Lytle in 1796, is described by Drake in "*Cincinnati and the Miami Country in 1815*" as "not very populous," and as having only one public building (a stone court house), a post-office, and two printing offices.





I thought it expedient in this part of the State, to lift a collection, it was done; but produced a very small sum; only about *three dollars*.

My object, according to our original design approbated by the Trustees, was to proceed to Washington City, that through the introduction of our representatives I might become acquainted with influential characters from every part of the United States, who might recognize me in their different neighborhoods where my future views might be directed. In my way, I spent some days in Pittsburgh. About this time the fate of the United States Bank was pending in Congress;<sup>54</sup> which so alarmed the Stockholders and Note holders that Hon. Mr. Ross, Dr. Stephenson and many other influential characters refused their aid on that account; nevertheless in a number of small sums I received about fifty dollars and in paints 5 dollars and books twenty-six dollars subscriptions.

On the fourteenth of February I arrived at Washington City after the most fatiguing Journey, I had ever experienced; and was kindly received by both of our Senators<sup>55</sup> and Representative.<sup>56</sup> They took every opportunity to introduce me to their respective acquaintances and themselves opened a subscription to which each subscribed twenty dollars. Their example was followed by some of the members from the Western country, and only one other instance; as it appeared to be a determined rule followed by the members of Congress, in gen-

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<sup>54</sup>The Bank of the United States was chartered March 4, 1891, for twenty years. In April, 1808, a memorial was presented in the Senate for a renewal of the charter. Though its cause was championed by Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury, Senator Crawford of Georgia and the Federalists, it was opposed by the Republicans, especially the Congressmen from Pennsylvania and Virginia, which states held stock in their own banks. In January, 1811, the bill to recharter was indefinitely postponed in the House, and in February the corresponding bill was defeated in the Senate. Babcock's *Rise of American Nationality*, pp. 5-13 (Amer. Nation Ser.).

<sup>55</sup>Dr. Alexander Campbell (see 18) and Thomas Worthington. The latter was born in Virginia in 1769. He emigrated to Ross Co., O., in 1798. Was a member of the Constitutional Convention. Served as U. S. Senator 1803-1807 and 1810-1814. Was Governor of Ohio 1814-1818. Cf. *Dict. of Cong.*, 1864, p. 409.

<sup>56</sup>Jeremiah Morrow was the sole representative from Ohio in the Lower House of Congress 1803-1813.



eral, to refuse their aid in order to check personal applications to them when in Session.

Dr. Campbel introduced me to the President<sup>57</sup> of U. S. without effect as was also my application to the Secretaries of War<sup>58</sup> and the Treasury;<sup>59</sup> the heads of Department afforded me some small assistance. The whole of my donations only amounted at Washington and the neighboring places to about 200 dollars.

As this time my prospects were very gloomy and discouraging. The Vice President<sup>60</sup> pointed out many serious obstacles in the way of my success, such as, What have your own neighbors done? Have the Trustees themselves, and the Inhabitants of the State shown no examples of generosity? He doubted the utility of the object. &c., &c. and closed the interviews with a promise of consideration. The final rejection of the Bill for the renewal of the United States Bank at that time so operated on the minds of the citizens as to cast a Gloom on the commercial part of the citizens and led me to a disposition for a return. Having been introduced to Hon. Mr. Pope,<sup>61</sup> Senator from Kentucky, he appeared willing to encourage the Institution; but could not make it convenient to advance any cash. He proposed subscribing 20 dollars, but it must be in Books and offered me a donation of [a] set of Plowden's History of Ireland, in 5 Vol. Octavo, for which he had paid 15 dollars; and would subscribe 5 dollars more in books on demand. I accepted the offer as I had an opportunity of sending them home.

Soon after I waited on Mr. Barlow<sup>62</sup> (new Minister in France) as he noticed Mr. Pope's donation, observed to this effect, "That to collect a Library at the same time that I was

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<sup>57</sup>James Madison, President, 1809-1817.

<sup>58</sup>William Eustes of Mass. Cf. *Dict. of Congress*, 1864, p. 129.

<sup>59</sup>Albert Gallatin of Penn. Cf. *Dict. of Congress*, 1864, p. 146.

<sup>60</sup>George Clinton. Cf. *Dict. of Congress*, 1864, p. 85.

<sup>61</sup>John Pope was born in Prince William Co., Va. Moved to Kentucky, where he served a number of years in the Legislature. Served in the United States Senate 1807-1813 and in the House of Representatives 1837-1844. *Dict. of Congress*, 1864, p. 297.

<sup>62</sup>Joel Barlow (1755-1812), born in Reading, Conn., was a graduate of Yale Univ. 1778 and became one of Connecticut's most noted diplomats and litterateurs. Cf. "*Connecticut as a Colony and as a State.*"



collecting donations of Cash would answer a very valuable purpose for the University, as a number of Gentlemen who would not be disposed to bestow *Cash*, may be persuaded to give Books." I took the hint; he promised to examine his own library; he furnished me with 10 Vol., some very valuable ones.

This circumstance gave a new spring to my mind. I calculated that the only expense to the University would be my time in collecting the Books and carriage; and that the application for both would promote each. I resolved to unite them in my solicitations and eventually found the calculations correct.

In the onset of my application for Books I was more solicitous to procure a respectable *list* than to be choice in the quality or condition of the Books, as I wanted examples of *numbers*. To the kind attention of Mr. Thomas Carpenter, now of Cincinnati, the University is much indebted for my first weeks accommodation and through his introduction to and influence with the Booksellers in Georgetown and Washington City they were induced not only to contribute handsomely themselves, but by their letters of introduction to those in Baltimore a way was opened for a general application and success.

In my way to Washington City my horse received much hurt and I was obliged to exchange it to a considerable disadvantage. In the City and neighborhood I found it absolutely necessary to keep it, altho' the expenses were considerable, but as the Spring opened I resolved to embrace an opportunity to dispose of it and rid myself of the expense and trouble of its keeping and leave me more at liberty to enjoy the benefit of private families. In Alexandria I received the attention of the Presbyterian Minister who introduced me by letter to the Clergy of Baltimore.

To the great politeness of Rev. Obadiah B. Brown, Minister of the Baptist Church in Washington City, I am indebted for the most hospitable attention whilst I remained in the City, and introductions to several persons of character and respectability. About the middle of April I reached Baltimore where I was kindly received by Mr. James Rooker with whose family I had been acquainted in my younger days. At his house and table I was treated with the greatest hospitality during the time of my long stay in Baltimore.



My introductory Letters to Rev. Mr. Glendy<sup>63</sup> of Baltimore were received with great cordiality; but his people being deeply in debt for their own *New Church* which was just erected he could not find himself at liberty to make personal applications to them; but after having assisted him in his public services, I became acquainted with a number of them whose small donations made up some interesting sum. The Rev. Dr. Inglis<sup>64</sup> being about to take a journey to the Eastern States, I occupied his pulpit two Sabbaths, which in the issue proved very advantageous to my object.

For several weeks my success in Cash was but small yet in Books I found encouragement—at length Mr. Thomas Findlay, Brother to Gen. James Findlay accompanied me to the stores of many of his neighbors and thro' his influence other gentlemen accompanied me to their neighbors which occasioned some progress in cash as well as occasional donations of Books.

About this time news arrived of the fire at Newburyport; this was a subject which entered into the feelings of the inhabitants, as they anticipated a general call of benevolence for the unhappy sufferers, and very frequently occasioned the withholding a donation or considerably diminishing the sum.

During my stay in Baltimore I had the opportunity of purchasing a neat small pair of Globes and a small number of Classical Books most of them absolutely necessary for a Seminary, of English price & duties *without any advance*. By the advice of several friends I embraced it and laid out about 57 dollars—this sum with 5 dls. for a Vol: of the Encyclopedia is the amount of what I have ventured to lay out for the Institution. My stay in Baltimore was much longer than I wished, but I wanted to make the sum collected in that City to be as large as possible as an example to other places.

On closing my concern in Baltimore I found that I had

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<sup>63</sup>John Glendy, D. D. (1755-1832), was pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church of Baltimore 1803-1826 and Chaplain of the U. S. Senate 1815-16 and of the Ho. of Rep. 1806. Cf. Sprague's *Annals*, Vol. IV, 229-233.

<sup>64</sup>James Inglis, D. D. (1777-1820), was a graduate of Columbia College in 1795; pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Baltimore, 1802-1820. Cf. Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit*, Vol. IV, p. 278.





collected about 450 dollars and 300 Vol: some of them very scarce and valuable.

In passing through the State of Delaware I found very little success. I only spent about 2 weeks therein & principally to recruit my health & spirits. I procured only 22 dollars & 35 Vol.

As the summer was now much advanced I suppose that most of the influential characters in Philadelphia were retired to the Country: I therefore resolved to make that City my place of Deposit for Books &c, and my last place of application, I therefore merely passed through it on the fourth of August & made the best of my way to Jersey.—At Trenton I was kindly received by Stacy Potts Esq. Mayor of the City, who politely introduced me to every principal character in town & neighborhood, I took an early opportunity to visit Dr. Saml. Stanhope Smith president of the College at Princeton in New Jersey—He advised me to take time in passing through the State, and observed that little would be done any where but as I was received on the Sabbath. I found almost every town on the way to New York deeply engaged either in Building Colleges, churches, Schoolhouses, Court houses or some public building, or deeply in debt for what they had accomplished—I passed about 2 months in the State & collected about 338 dollars & 300 Vol: & a promisory note of Gen. John N. Cummins for 50 dollars.

When I was at Pittsburgh I engaged to use my endeavors to get a piece of business in Land concerns accomplished for a gentlemen. This would have been attended with a donation of 100 dollars if successful. I turned out of my course and went to Morristown—failed in my object but procured an order from Genl. Doughty on Mr. Esty [Este], for the books in his possession as a donation to the college and collected about 28 dollars—which is included in the above sum.

When at Newark I was introduced to Revd. Mr. Thompson, minister of the Presbyterian Church in Augusta, State of Georgia. He encouraged me to hope that something might be done in the Southern States & wished me to accompany him thither—I thought it necessary to consult Genl. Dayton<sup>65</sup> & Rev. Dr. Kol-

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<sup>65</sup>General Jonathan Dayton, 1755-1824, was a graduate of Princeton College, Member of Ho. of Rep. 1791-1799, and of the Senate 1799-1805. Cf. *Dict. of Congress*, 1864, p. 109.



lock<sup>66</sup> of Savannah. The latter rather discouraged me on the consideration of the State of public affairs & the great disappointment which the planters would experience in the sale of their cotton. Genl. Dayton thought the attempt might be attended with success; yet advised me to try what could be done in Albany, before I left the eastern States spend a few days there & I could sail for any of the Southern parts at any time before December, on trial I thought it not prudent to relinquish *present* views in pursuit of uncertainties so I lost sight of that scheme. Should the posture of public affairs bear a more pleasing aspect, I have no doubt but something of consequence might be done in the Southern States.

In the month of October I took passage from New York in steam boat for Albany and on my arrival was introduced to Revd. Mr. Neille pastor of the presbyterian church. In this City I found two difficulties arise, one from the determination of the presbyterians to use their greatest efforts for establishing a Theological Institution at Princeton N. J. and the other of a legal nature. The Corporation had passed an ordinance that no subscription should be offered to the citizens without the Consent of the corporation signed by the seal of the Recorder of the City under the penalty of *fine & imprisonment*. I therefore submitted my documents to the inspection of the Board of Alderman who reported *that they could take no order on the subject*. Thus I became exposed to the caprice of the public or relinquish my object. I did not hesitate; but hazarded consequences.

On the first Sabbath I was in Albany I met with Mrs. Susan Symmes formerly from this Town, she became exceedingly useful to my object by introducing me to a number of her acquaintance and her friend Mr. Kane commenced the subscription entirely on her account; Having made some little progress I pressed Mr. Van Ranseller the *patron* (or proprietor) of the City lots. He subscribed 20 dollars, I waited on his brother the Mayor of the City, who subscribed 10 dollars. He after-

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<sup>66</sup>Henry Kollock, D.D. (1778-1819), was born in New Jersey and graduated from Princeton 1794. Pastor of the Presbyterian Church, Savannah, 1806-1819. In 1810 he was elected to the Presidency of the University of Georgia, but declined to accept. Cf. Sprague's *Annals*, Vol. IV, pp. 263-270.



wards, in a very friendly manner warned me of the consequences of making application to the Citizens without the authority of Corporation. I observed that I was well aware of them but must hazard them. I came to beg, & beg I must. He smiled, wished me success & I passed on.

Altho in the Presbyterian Society I received but little encouragement yet in the Dutch Reformed Church I enjoyed much attention. Revd. Mr. Bradford their Minister made me a very handsome donation of Books & one of his Consistory, Elbert Willet, Esqr., late Chamberlain, took much pains to procure subscriptions. This City was my principal home during my stay in that neighborhood and closed with about 178 dollars. In Schenactady I spent about 2 weeks. The Ministers, Revd. Messrs. Monteith & Bogardus, aided me in private applications and in a public collection when both congregations were united. By which means I procured about 150 dollars and a few books.

In the United Churches of Lansingburgh & Waterford I received much attention from Revd. Dr. Saml. Blatchford.<sup>67</sup> A subscription being at that time on foot for repairing the Church at Lansingburgh prevented much success there but on the whole did more than I could have a right to expect receiving about 75 dollars.

In the town of Troy the Revd. Mr. Coe<sup>68</sup> received me cordially, but being under particular circumstances of obligation could not step forward, I was providentially led to an acquaintance with Mr. Isaac Brinkerhoff, a member of the Seceeder Church. He paid all possible attention to me, accompanied me to a number of his neighbors and during much indisposition in my lungs afforded me every assistance in his power. 'Thro' the Medical care of his physician, Dr. Proudfit, I soon recovered. The public mind was much engaged in my favor & I closed my visit with

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<sup>67</sup>Samuel Blatchford, D. D. (1767-1828), emigrated from England to the U. S. in 1794. In 1804 he accepted a call to the Presbyterian Church of Lansingburg, N. Y., and an offer of the principalship of the academy of that place, retaining the latter position till 1809 and the former till his death. Cf. Sprague's *Annals*, Vol. IV, pp. 158-168.

<sup>68</sup>Jonas Coe, D. D. 1759-1822), was a graduate of Queen's College (now Rutgers College) 1789. Pastor of the United Congregation of Troy and Lansingburg, N. Y., 1793-1803 and of Troy until his death. Cf. Sprague's *Annals*, Vol. III, p. —.



about 123 dollars,—20 of which was gathered at a public collection.

At two or three other places, public collections were made which brought but trifling sums to amount of 17 dollars. Thus I closed my efforts in State of New York, having obtained nearly 550 dollars and some valuable books. At the latter end of January I left Albany & waited on Caleb Strong<sup>69</sup> Esq. now Governor of Massachusetts. Altho' he possessed much land in this State yet on political considerations he rejected my solicitation & I could procure nothing from his hands; and finding that other land holders residing in that neighborhood were of the same cast I did nothing in that place.

At Worcester I was kindly received by Revd. Dr. Saml. Austin.<sup>70</sup> Spent a Sabbath with him & on the Monday picked up about 30 dollars and 40 dollars worth of books.

In this town I received information that on the following Thursday there was an ordination of five Missionaries<sup>71</sup> to take place at Salem about 20 miles above Boston. I resolved to be present on the occasion as it would afford me an opportunity to see a number of Ministers at one place & commence an acquaintance with them. I passed through Boston & proceeded to Salem. I was introduced to Dr. John Prince (brother to Capt. Joseph Prince<sup>72</sup> of this town) who promised to forward my design to the utmost of his power among his people. My

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<sup>69</sup>Caleb Strong (1745-1819) was a graduate of Harvard College, 1764. During the years 1789-1797 he was a member of the U. S. Senate, and later, Governor of Massachusetts 1800-1807 and 1812-1816. In 1779 he assisted in forming the Constitution of that State, and in 1787 he also assisted in forming the Constitution of the United States. He was vigorously opposed to the war and denied the right of the President to make requisition upon the State for troops. Cf. *Dict. of Congress*, 1864, p. 354.

<sup>70</sup>Rev. Samuel Austin, D. D. (1760-1830). Pastor of New Haven, 1786-1790; at Worcester, Mass., 1790-1815. President of the University of Vermont, 1815-1821. Cf. Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit*, Vol. II, pp. 221-228.

<sup>71</sup>They were Messrs. Judson, Hall, Nott, Newell and Rice, who were ordained February 6, 1812, and who sailed the same year for Calcutta, India, thus inaugurating the foreign mission work begun under the direction of the American Board. Cf. *Encyclopedia of Missions*, Vol. I, p. 66.

<sup>72</sup>Captain Joseph Prince was president of the "Select Council of the Town of Cincinnati," 1803-1804.





object was accomplished at the ordination & I was affectionately received by a number of Clergy & by a Mr. Shermerhorne Student in Divinity with whom I had formed acquaintance at Schenactady. I was introduced to the patronage & family of Mr. John Jenks under whose very friendly roof I received every possible attention during my stay in Salem. The appearance of success was very gloomy at first. The stagnation of commerce in the Seaports rendered the Merchants very much im-bittered against the Western as well as Southern States, and my first applications were repulsed, other circumstances were in the way. Large subscriptions had been raised & still were raising on account of the Missionaries who were soon to sail for the East Indies & great sums had been raised for translations of the Bible into different languages, add to these the general inclemency of the weather which drew large sums to the poor. I had serious doubts whether I could do any thing in Salem. However the general mind was excited to an attention to public services in the different churches which terminated in favor of the institution; and I had the satisfaction to find that in three churches about 130 dollars were collected & a Minister, Revd. Mr. Bently, among his people made a private collection of 31 dollars which with what I had collected from individuals amounts to 300 \$ and some valuable books. Those Books with such as I had collected in that quarter thro' the kindness of Mr. Jenks were forwarded free of freight to Philadelphia where they were delivered safely to [the] care of Robt. Ralston Esq.—

Notwithstanding the severe dispensation of Providence which had been felt in Newburyport by the late fire in that town, yet I was encouraged to visit it. I spent about 10 days there, the weather so inclement as almost entirely to prevent my exposure to the air. The Ministers called on their friends on my behalf & by public and private collections I received about 117 dollars. In my way back to Salem I took Haverhill & Andover but met with little success only receiving 27 dollars & some books. At Marblehead the Ministers of both Churches in that town paid all possible attention to me & without my soliciting any individual they repaid my public services with about 70 dollars. At Beverly & Danvers in the same neighborhood I received about 65 dollars and considered my object accomplished in that part of the State.



At Boston I arrived on 18th April & the next day I preached for Revd. Dr. John Lathrop & Revd. Mr. Channon the oldest & genteelest congregations in Boston and on the following Thursday preached before the Boston Association of Congregational Ministers and [was] by them invited to attend their association on the following Monday. The association recognized me, gave me a testimonial of their satisfaction as to my person & mission which opened a door for effecting my purpose. My spirits were raised & I conceived myself in a probable way to procure at least a thousand dollars in Boston. I had the names of some leading characters remarkable for their generosity on such public occasions; at the head of which was John Phil[ips],<sup>73</sup> Esq. (now Lieut. Governor of Massachusetts.) To procure his signature was of the utmost consequence & I took the earliest opportunity to wait on him. With a polite reception & invitation to dine he expressed his disapprobation of the object [of my mission] and a doubt of its success. I was in hopes his views would be more generous; but I found my mistake. He was determined, urged the settled opposition of our State to the commercial interests of New England. The Embargo<sup>74</sup> he observed called all their resources to other objects & in short he declared himself principled against encouraging any State in league with the Southern States.<sup>75</sup> In vain I pled the numerous emigrants from New England, the present vote of one of our

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<sup>73</sup>John Phillips (1770-1823). Graduate of Harvard. Was member of the Massachusetts Senate 1804-1823, serving as presiding officer from 1813; also the first mayor of the city of Boston.

<sup>74</sup>Owing to frequent losses of American vessel owners due to the failure of these powers to recognize what Americans claimed to be "rights of neutrals," Congress, after the passage of the Berlin Decree and the Orders in Council, passed an Embargo Act forbidding the sailing of any merchant vessel from the United States to any foreign port. This act awakened such opposition in New England, whose interests were especially affected, that in 1809 it was repealed, and non-intercourse with Great Britain and France substituted, with the provision that the President might suspend its orders or decrees. Cf. Channing, *The Jeffersonian System*, pp. 208-227.

<sup>75</sup>A reference to the Annals of Congress shows that the Ohio Congressmen voted with the Southern States on every important measure during the sessions of 1810-11 and 1811-12.



Senators with Mr. Loyde's<sup>76</sup> Motion &c. &c., the unsettled character of our State & every argument in my power to move him. This repulse was a decided wound to my expectations. I called on some others: every one had the same spirit & in fact I could get no one to commence the subscription list and, had not some Ladies' Societies manifested their attention to me, I should not have received a cent in cash in Boston.

I now thought my mission brought to a close. Dr. Morse of Charleston urged his people to do something—It met the same fate and I found every exertion useless in the way of cash.

The question now to be decided in my own mind was whether, as no money could be procured, it would not be best to bend all my attention to procure books & leave a general effort for cash to some future period. I therefore determined to call on those characters again & inform them that *as the situation of public affairs were such as made application for cash unpleasant I should leave the subject to some more propitious period when myself or perhaps some other person would wait on them with more effect*, thereby keeping open the way for a future application.

My application for books was attended with more success, including some neighboring donations with Boston. I suppose I collected above 300 Vols. a number of them of great value in a college Library. I waited on late President Adams who presented me with a ten dollar bill & 2 or 3 Vol[umes]. This sum with about 28 dollars more closed my subscription for Massachusetts, having collected 673 dollars in that State.

I now resolved to make the best of my way home. I expected the same effects at New York & Philadelphia & supposed that it would be much more expedient to leave these cities for a future propitious opportunity than now to make an unsuccessful attempt. Besides my health became & continued much impaired; I found exertion a burden & arrangements were making by my son and soninlaw Dr. French to take me home.

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<sup>76</sup>James Lloyd (1769-1831), U. S. Senator from Mass. 1808-13 and 1822-26 (Dictionary of Congress). March 2, 1812, he introduced a bill calling upon the Secretary of the Treasury for a statement of the amount of exports from the United States to France subsequent to the repeal of the Berlin and Milan decrees. Senator Campbell supported this bill. Cf. *Annals of the 12th Congress*, Part I, pp. 147, 167.



From Boston I reached Hartford in Connecticut, but found no opening for cash—procured some books & passed on to New Haven. Here I determined to make my last effort. Several circumstances opened in my favor. I was received, thro' *personal acquaintance* with several of the inhabitants, by the President<sup>77</sup> of Yale College & the Clergy of both parishes.—Active measures were taken by several persons who went with me almost from house to house so that from about *Eighty different* donors I procured 161 dollars & 50 cts.

Thus I closed my subscription list. For a more explicit statement of donations, I refer to the list of cash & Books communicated herewith.

In New Haven I had the satisfaction of meeting my son with whom I proceeded through Long Island to New York. Received a donation from Whiting & Watson of Books to amount of 23 dollars and a few others from another Bookseller & passed on to Philadelphia. Here I found a number of Books had arived & Messrs. Hopkins & Co. engaged to forward them with others to them directed, by the waggons to Pittsburg, to Patterson & Hopkins—who will forward them to me in Cincinnati. At the time I was at Philadelphia the price of carriage was advanced on account of Military Stores being wanted in different directions,<sup>78</sup> this circumstance led me to give him [instructions] to take the best time to forward them when carriage would be reduced to its usual price. Having made these arrangements Dr. French & self left Philadelphia for Pittsburgh & after a very fatiguing Journey arived at Cincinnati on the 3d Instant;<sup>79</sup> my health much impaired and which as yet I have not fully recovered.

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<sup>77</sup>Timothy Dwight, D. D. (1752-1817) was president of Yale College from 1795 to 1819.

<sup>78</sup>Although war was not declared until July 19, 1812, active preparations were being made for the impending conflict. Hull's expedition was already on its way to the Canadian frontier.

<sup>79</sup>Twelve days after his return, Hull surrendered to the British General Brock. Then followed a year of anxious concern on the northwest frontier, that was relieved only by Perry's victory of Sept. 10, 1813. A meeting of the Trustees of the University was held Aug. 21, 1812, but no mention is made of Browne's return.





## XV.

### WILLIAM LUDLOW TO MESSRS. REILY, AND ESTE,<sup>80</sup> TRUSTEES OF THE MIAMI UNIVERSITY.

*Dear Sirs,*

OXFORD, 14th APRIL, 1813.

Nothing gives me much greater uneasiness than to be deprived of acting where my acts may benefit man and lay the base of happiness by increasing knowledge and dispelling superstition. The Trustees of the Miami University were pleased to appoint me President Protempore<sup>81</sup> of that institution; I believe I have been uniformly disposed to promote the benefits to arise therefrom, and could I have been convinced that an equal corresponding disposition actuated the minds of all the Trustees, I should not at this time have made arrangements to leave the Township. Last spring, summer and fall was lost without making any sales or increasing the settlement; notwithstanding that there was a great desire in many to purchase, and this year is like to pass off in the same way. Altho I have resolved upon leaving the township, I yet wish to see something done. Within a few weeks a number of persons have applied to me to know when a sale will be held. And I can assure you that I have so little confidence of anything being done by the Trustees, that I have been able to give them no encouragement. I expect to leave home for Columbus in a few days, if the Trustees do not conclude to do something I shall conclude that it was an unhappy thing to place the University upon the township. If a

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<sup>80</sup>David K. Este was born at Morristown, N. J., 1785, and was graduated from Princeton, 1803. Admitted to the bar by the Supreme Court of New Jersey. He moved to Hamilton, Ohio, 1810, where he was Prosecuting Attorney 1810-16. Removed to Cincinnati 1816. Presiding Judge of the Court of Common Pleas 1834-1838, and Judge of the Superior Court of Cincinnati 1838-1845. Cf. *Hist. and Biog. Cyclopedia of Butler County*, p. 250.

<sup>81</sup>William Ludlow acted as President of the Board from March 27, 1810, to November 5, 1813. All officers were elected pro tempore prior to the removal of the University officers to Oxford in 1820. He represented Franklin County in the Assembly in 1815-1816, apparently residing in Columbus about that time.



meeting cannot be had next week,<sup>82</sup> I think I shall never make another attempt, as my absence at Columbus while holding the appointment here may prevent that prompt discharge of duty which the Trustees owe Society, which if not discharged ought to lay them liable to the strongest reprehensions of every one interested. The concerns of the institution require immediate action. A Collector ought to be appointed in the township. John W. Browne's Executors ought to be settled with,<sup>83</sup> and a

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<sup>82</sup>The records show that there was no meeting of the Trustees from Aug. 27, 1811, until Nov. 1, 1813. Several meetings were called, but the attendance was not sufficient to constitute a quorum. The surrender of Hull, Aug. 15, 1812, and of General Winchester, Jan. 22, 1813, followed by the massacre of Raisin, had thrown a gloss over the frontier, and a number of the Trustees were serving in the army. The Secretary was absent on a voyage to New Orleans.

<sup>83</sup>October 21, 1817, Mr. Corry for the Committee (see XII.) reported that they had examined the collection of books secured by Rev. J. W. Browne and selected such as seemed desirable for the use of the University. That of the remainder they had sold 118 volumes to the Circulating Library Society of Cincinnati for \$88.50 and the others at auction for \$382.64. Expenses for storage, duties, auction, etc., made the net receipts \$311.88, of which \$88.50 was owing from the Library Society. In payment of this debt the Trustees accepted, July 6, 1824, a partial set of Rees Encyclopedia, paying \$100 to the publishers for the remaining volumes. April 12, 1821, a new committee, consisting of Dr. Stephen Wood and Luke Foster, the latter a prominent land owner of Springdale Township, Hamilton County, was appointed to settle with the administrators of the estates of Rev. J. W. Browne and Daniel Symmes, to whom Browne had remitted \$190, which, prior to the death of Symmes in 1817, had not been turned over to the treasurer. In 1824 James McBride was added to this committee, which presented the following statement and report:

Amount collected by Rev. John W. Browne.....	\$2,566 75
Amount remitted during his mission.....	\$688 00
Salary for 19 months.....	950 00
Expenses stated to be abt.....	300 00
Expense of trunks, boxes, freight.....	300 00
Cash paid for globes, etc.....	57 00
Unpaid subscription .....	54 13
	<hr/>
	2,349 13
Amount due from estate.....	\$217 62

The committee recommended that, in view of the expense and trouble to which the administrator of the Browne estate had been in caring for the books while in his hands, and for other reasons, it was not advisable to further press the claim of the University for the balance due from that estate. During a conference of the committee with the administrator of



number of other important considerations attended to. Should you not feel disposed to aid in calling a meeting by the last of next week you will accept, gentlemen, of this as my resignation of the Presidency Protempore.

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the Symmes estate, the latter acknowledged the obligation but stated inability to "pay until debts due are collected." He offered ten volumes of Wait's "State Papers," value \$30, on the account, which were accepted by the committee. It would appear that the "Browne Mission" netted the University \$713.38 in cash; more than one thousand volumes of books and a set of globes valued at \$57. It failed, however, to secure an amount of cash sufficient to enable the trustees to proceed with the erection of the necessary buildings. Of the amount mentioned only \$478 had come into the hands of the treasurer of the university prior to Jan. 1, 1815. In his report of that date the treasurer states that the expenses of surveying, securing a set of books, erecting a schoolhouse, etc., had consumed all the income from the college lands save \$143.45, and further, that, of the 237 farm lots previously sold, 121 had reverted to the university. All that the trustees had to show for the efforts of six years, were, a surveyed township with a few settlers (mostly squatters); a platted village with one brick house, a few log cabins, schoolhouse costing \$297; and a set of office books with other supplies, besides certain volumes which were stored in Cincinnati, not yet come into their possession. In view of this discouraging showing it is not surprising that there were those who thought with Dr. Drake, "That it [Miami University] will attain to the rank of a second rate college, in the course of the present century, where it is now fixed, no well informed person has the courage to predict. The general opinion is, that both the interests of the seminary, and common justice to the people for whose benefit it was expressly designed, require its restoration to Symmes' purchase; where the funds necessary to the erection of suitable edifices could be promptly raised by subscription; and a college organized in time to benefit the rising generation." (Drake's *Cincinnati and the Miami Country*, 1815.) This sentiment crystallized into a movement, that persisted through a number of years, to move the university within the bounds of the Symmes purchase. Papers relative to this attempt will be presented in the next No. of the Quarterly.



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*The*

James McBride Manuscripts

Selections Relating to the Miami University, II

Arranged and Edited by

JOHN EWING BRADFORD

Associate Professor of History, Miami University.

CINCINNATI, OHIO  
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## FOREWORD

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While Miami University was slowly struggling into being at Oxford, certain enterprising persons living in the southern part of the Symmes Purchase determined upon the establishment of a school of collegiate rank at Cincinnati. The first known effort in this direction was made in 1807. In that year an association known as the Cincinnati University was incorporated and money was raised for the erection of a building. When almost ready for occupancy, this building was blown down by the tornado that passed over Cincinnati May 28th, 1809. Nothing further was attempted until 1814, when about \$12,000 was subscribed for the establishment of a school on the Lancastrian Plan. A building was erected at the corner of Fourth and Walnut Streets and the school opened. This, however, did not meet the ideals of the community and in 1819 it was rechartered as Cincinnati College and about \$50,000 was subscribed toward its support. In the meantime there were those who called in question the justice and wisdom of locating Miami University within the college township and were endeavoring to remove it within the purchase. In the Legislature of 1813-14 a bill was introduced to repeal the act establishing the Miami University and to fix the site for the same within the Miami Purchase and also to "compound and settle in a just and equitable manner with the tenants on the University lands for any improvements they had made on said lands." This bill called forth "An Address to the Inhabitants of the Miami College Lands" by James McBride and a "Remonstrance" from them which was forwarded to the Legislature of 1814-15. It was then decided "that it was not in the power of the Legislature to do away the Acts of a former Assembly, when under these



acts rights had become vested." Thus the matter rested save for some newspaper agitation, until 1822. In that year a Memorial from Cincinnati College was presented to the Legislature, and later a bill was introduced to locate Miami University within the Symmes Purchase. It is with respect to this question that the matter in this number of the Quarterly principally relates. In preparing these manuscripts for publication few liberties have been taken with the spelling and punctuation of the author. Annotations unless otherwise indicated are by McBride. We wish again to recognize the efficient assistance rendered by the Society's Librarian, Miss Hamlin.

John E. Bradford.

Oxford, Ohio.



## I.

### A SPEECH FOR THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE STATE OF OHIO, ON THE BILL<sup>1</sup> TO REMOVE THE SITE OF MIAMI UNIVERSITY FROM OXFORD, IN 1822.

The bill, now before the House, deeply involves the prosperity of literature and science in the Miami Valley. But, aside from this consideration, this bill is one, in which that section of country I have, in part, the honor to represent, has a particular, a deep, and an abiding interest. Thus admonished, not only by the anxious thought that the step about to be taken by this Assembly may exert a powerful influence either for good or evil, on the rising West, but also by the firm conviction that this bill will operate most injuriously to the interests of my constituents, I claim the indulgence of stating the reasons which shall induce me to vote against it.

To Literature and science, I trust, this House will, at all times, feel disposed to give particular attention; and, so far as Legislative enactments may be efficient, will adopt and foster those measures which will most permanently secure their gen-

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<sup>1</sup> Tuesday, January 10, 1822, Mr. Williams of Hamilton County presented to the Ohio House of Representatives a "Memorial from the President and Trustees of Cincinnati College" proposing to convey certain property to the Miami University upon condition that the said University be removed to Cincinnati; which was read and laid on the table, the previous notice not having been given. (Cf. Journal of the H. of R. 1821-22, p. 202; also the Diamond Jubilee Volume of Miami University, pp. 357-9). One week later Mr. Williams reported a bill to the House which in substance was as follows: (a) The removal of Miami University from Oxford and the appointment of a commission to locate the same within the Symmes Purchase at such a point as should be "most conducive to the great ends of education." In making their choice the Commission should take into consideration "donations which may be offered and the permanent interests of education." (b) That an Academy known as Oxford Academy should be established as a branch of said University under direction of a Board of seven trustees to be appointed by the University Corporation, which should "appropriate the one-eighth part of the funds arising or which may arise from the lands vested in the said University to the use and support of said Academy," which was also to receive the buildings and ten acres of ground for its use and accommodation. (c) It was further provided that any leaseholder who felt aggrieved by the removal of the University might surrender his lease, have the value of





eral diffusion and progressive advancement. Permit me, therefore, to express the fond hope and trust that no party motives, or sectional interests will intrude here, more especially on such an occasion, to divert the attention of honorable members, and lead them to oppose that course of legislation which has for its object the best and dearest interests of a large community—*the ultimate advancement of literature and science.*

The site of the Miami University is permanently established: if not, it is certainly high time that it should be. Longer to doubt and hesitate and adopt shifting counsels, on a point so important is fraught with results deeply injurious to the cause of Western-Learning. This House should remember that, as education is not confined in its growth to the compass of a single year, so an Institution of learning requires the steady quiet and fostering care of years to be ripened into any degree of usefulness and celebrity. I repeat that the site of the Miami University is already established permanently at the town of Oxford, beyond the power of this Legislature, or any other body to remove it without a direct and palpable violation of the Constitution of the State and the eternal principles of equal right and evenhanded justice. Sound policy forbids wavering

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the improvements he had made appraised, and retain the use of the property free of rent until the rentals equaled the appraised value of his improvements. This bill provoked a lengthy discussion. Mr. Shields of Butler County opposed the bill on the ground (a) that the bill was the same in substance as the Memorial from Cincinnati College which had been rejected by the House, (b) that it would be unjust to the people who had located upon and improved the college lands, (c) that Cincinnati was an unsuitable place at which to locate an institution for the training of young men. Mr. Williams then defended his bill in a speech which is given in full in the Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette for February 20, 1822. His arguments were: (a) The University "belongs to the Symmes Purchase" and "can never be of any advantage where it now stands to the present day and generation." Congress to encourage the settlement of the Symmes Purchase offered certain inducements, among these being the grant of a college township which was to be located near "the center of the tract of land and within which the educational institution was to be established." If necessity required the location of the College lands without the bounds of the Purchase, this did not require the location of the College outside the Purchase, as is shown where schools are in part supported by the income from school sections located outside the bounds of the township. (b) Congress granted to the Ohio Legislature one township "in lieu of the township already



counsels in relation to a subject every way so important; and an honest fulfillment of well founded expectations for[e]warns you of the manifest injustice which a removal of the site, at this late day, would inflict on the many worthy citizens of Oxford township, whom the legislature of this House has induced to fix their present residence, as the home of their dearest hopes and brightest expectations. However, it appears that there are some in this house who think otherwise, and more particularly that individual, who introduced this bill. An honest difference of opinion is praiseworthy; but still, on the present occasion, I lament it as a misfortune to differ in opinion with that gentleman, where I am so well assured from my personal knowledge of his character that he would never hesitate a moment to go equal lengths with myself in supporting the cause of right and justice.

As this is a question which, from its locality, is more immediately interesting to a particular section of the state, and as the history of the Institution, and the original grant of the township for its endowment may not be familiar to every member of this house, I will claim a few minutes indulgence, while I briefly advert to the original grant of the College township and its subsequent history.

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granted" and "for the same purpose," viz., for the benefit of the settlers within the Symmes Purchase. The Act of the Legislature in removing the University from Lebanon to Oxford was void because it transcended the authorization of Congress and "was entirely owing to a log-rolling scheme, that grew out of the contest for removing the seat of government." "The people of the Symmes Purchase have the same right to the College township that the inhabitants of each township have to their school section No. 16." (c) The school at Oxford has not succeeded, "at the most contained but 22 boys and cannot assist in the education of the present generation." (d) If "the citizens of Oxford took their leases on the grounds that the college was to be fixed in the township . . . the people of the purchase bought their lands under the inducement that they should have the benefit of a college located among them." To take the college from the settlers on the college lands is not so unjust as to withhold it from those to whom it rightfully belongs, as the former will be compensated for their financial losses and be provided with an Academy which will meet their needs for years to come. The discussion was continued by Messrs. Anderson, Fitzpatrick, Biggar, Harper, Whittlesey, Collins and Shields, and was ended by the passing of a motion to strike out the first section of the bill. The feeling prevailed that due previous notice had not been given of the introduction of the bill. (Cf. Columbus Gazette, January 27, 1822.)



The Congress of the United States, shortly after the Indian title had been extinguished to certain lands in the west which now form the State of Ohio but then designated as a part of the Territory North west of the river Ohio, on the 20th day of May 1785, preparatory to bringing those lands into market and extending our settlements westwardly, passed an ordinance which directs:—"That the lands in the North-west Territory, which have been purchased of the Indian inhabitants, shall be laid out into ranges of townships of six miles square; and fractional parts of townships, by lines running due north and south and others crossing them at right angles. The townships or fractional parts of townships to be designated by numbers progressively from South to North. And as soon as seven ranges of townships shall be surveyed, the Board of Treasury shall cause the same to be sold at public vendue. But the lots numbered 8, 11, 26 and 29 out of each township, and out of every fractional township so many lots of the same numbers as shall be found therein, are excepted from the sale so ordered, and reserved by the United States for future sale. The lot numbered 16 of every township, is also reserved out of the order of sale, and reserved for the maintainance of public schools within the said township".<sup>2</sup>

This ordinance according to my present information, is the first order made by Congress, relating to the disposal of the public lands belonging to the United States. On the 23d July

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The introduction and discussion of the bill led the friends of the University as then located to rally to its support. A public meeting was held at Oxford, March 23, 1822, when a committee was appointed to examine the bill and speech of Mr. Williams and to publish a reply to the same, and also "An Address to the Inhabitants of the Symmes Purchase." (Cf. "Miami University and the Cincinnati College. By the Oxford Committee, 1822.") A "Memorial Address to the Legislature," bearing date of October 17, 1822, was prepared by the members of the University Corporation and forwarded to that body. Moreover James McBride was elected to a seat in the House of Representatives and prepared the above speech that it might be in readiness should the friends of Cincinnati College revive the question of removing Miami University. This they did not deem wise to do, and so the speech was not delivered. It contains the best account of the Miami College Lands that is extant.—Ed.

<sup>2</sup> Journals of Congress from Folwells press Philadelphia 1801. Vol. 10 Pa. 118. Also communication of Govr. St. Clair to the Legislative Council of the N. W. Ter. Octr. 21st 1799—Journal of Council 1799 Pa. 27.



1787 Congress passed another order by which the Board of Treasury were authorized and empowered to contract with any person or persons for the sale and disposal of certain western lands; and after reserving section numbered 16 for school, and section numbered 29 in each township for religious purposes, the said order declares, "Not more than two complete townships to be given perpetually for the purposes of a University, to be laid off by the purchaser or purchasers, as near the centre as may be, so that the same shall be of good land, to be applied to the intended object by the Legislature of the state."<sup>3</sup> In pursuance of the power granted by this order, on the 26th day of July 1787, Messrs. Cutler & Sargeant made application to the Board of Treasury for the purchase of a certain tract of land containing two millions of acres, since known by the name of the "Ohio Company's purchase." On this application a contract was made and entered into with the said Cutler & Sargeant for the said tract of land. In this purchase two townships of land were granted for the establishment of a University, to be located as nearly as possible in the centre of the first million and half of acres which they should pay for.

In the year 1787, John Cleve Symmes of the State of New Jersey, who was then Chief Justice of that state, presented his petition to Congress, dated the twenty-ninth day of August in that year (1887,) at the city of New York, proposing to become the purchaser of one million<sup>4</sup> acres of land lying between

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<sup>3</sup> Land laws U. S. Vol. 1 Pa. 362, & Journal of Legislative Council N. W. Ter. 1799 Pa. 28.

<sup>4</sup> McBride evidently errs in the amount of the proposed purchase. Reference to the petition which follows will show that the bounds of the proposed purchase are fixed and no intimation is given as to the amount it was expected would be contained therein. The Miami Valley not having been surveyed, there was no definite information as to its extent. Symmes doubtless thought that the tract included in the bounds specified in the application was much larger than it proved to be. Judge Burnet, who had the advantage of McBride in that he was long associated with Judge Symmes, states that Symmes proposed "purchasing a tract of two million acres between the Miami Rivers" but that afterwards the "quantity of land named in his proposition to the Board of Treasury, was reduced to a million acres" by his associates, to whom he had given the power of attorney. It was this reduction in quantity, he asserts, that was the cause of his selling portions of the College Township he had first reserved. Cf. Burnet's Notes on the Northwestern Territory pp. 413-415. 428, 429.—ED.





the Great and Little Miami Rivers, and that one township should be assigned in the tract for the benefit of an Academy. Which petition reads in these words:

"Your petitioner, encouraged by the resolutions of Congress of the twenty third and twenty seventh of July 1787, stipulating the conditions of a transfer of Federal lands on the Scioto and Muskingum Rivers unto Winthrop Sargeant & Mannasseh Cutler Esquires, and their associates of New-England, is induced on the behalf of the citizens of the United States, westward of Connecticut who also wish to become purchasers of federal lands; Do pray that the honorable the Congress will be pleased to direct, that a contract be made by the honorable the commissioners of the Treasury Board, with your petitioner, for himself and his associates, in all respects similar in form and manner to the said grant made to Messrs. Sargeant & Cutler, differing only in quantity and place where, and instead of Two townships for the use of a University, one only be assigned for the benefit of an Academy" And "that by such transfer to your petitioner and his associates, on their complying with the terms of sale the fee may pass of all the lands lying within the following limits, Viz: beginning at the mouth of the Great Miami River, thence running up the Ohio River to the mouth of the Little Miami River thence up the main stream of the Little Miami River to the place where a due west line to be continued from the western termination of the northern boundary line of the grant to Messrs. Sargeant and Cutler should intersect the said Little Miami River thence due west continuing the said western line to the place where the said line should intersect, the main branch or stream of the Great Miami, thence to the place of beginning."<sup>5</sup>

In consequence of this petition of John Cleves Symmes being presented, the Congress of the United States on the second day of October 1787, made an order that the petition and proposals of John Cleves Symmes should be referred to the Board of Treasury to take order thereon.<sup>6</sup>

The probable expectation of John Cleves Symmes and perhaps the Congress of the United States, at that time was that the boundaries laid down in the petition would include about

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<sup>5</sup> Land laws of the U. S. appendix, pa 7, Washington 1817.

<sup>6</sup> Journal Congress—V. 12 P. 225 appendix.



one million of acres of land. But the geography of that section of country was at that time imperfectly known, and subsequent discoveries have ascertained that it would not include more than one third part of a million of acres: a parallel of latitude extending due west from the northern boundary line of Messrs. Sargeant & Cutler's purchase would probably strike the Miami purchase, several miles south of Dayton. Several modifications and alterations were made in the boundaries of the tract of land sold to John C. Symmes and as we are now on that subject I shall just notice those different modifications as I pass along. We find that a contract in writing exists, bearing date the 15th day Octr. 1788,<sup>7</sup> duly made and executed between Samuel Osgood, Walter Levingston and Arthur Lee Esqrs. commissioners of the Board of Treasury of the United States of the first part: Jonathan Dayton and Daniel Marsh Esquires of the second part, John Cleves Symmes, Esqr. of the third part for the purchase and grant of a certain tract of land in the western country adjoining to the river Ohio, bounded as follows, Viz: beginning on the Bank of the Ohio River at a spot exactly twenty miles distant along the several courses of the same from the place where the Great Miami River empties itself into the said river Ohio, from thence extending down the said river Ohio, along the several courses thereof; to the Great Miami River thence up the said river Miami, along the several courses thereof to a place where a line drawn due east, will intersect a line drawn from the place of beginning aforesaid parallel with the general course of the Great Miami River so as to include one million of acres within those lines and the said rivers; and from that place along those lines to the place of beginning, to contain the said quantity of one million of acres, to be granted to the said John Cleves Symmes and his associates their heirs and assigns upon certain terms and conditions in the said contract specially set forth.

From this instrument of writing we may conclude that the geographical position of the Miami country was not well ascertained at that time, for we find that it was afterwards necessary to further alter and amend the said contract. We find that the Congress of the United States by their act passed the 12th day of April 1792, entitled "*an act for ascertaining the boundary of a*

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<sup>7</sup> Referred to in law of May 5th 1792 L. U. S. Pa. 80, Vol. 2.



*"tract of land purchased by John Cleves Symmes."* (L. U. S. V. 2, P. 49.), authorized the President of the United States at the request of John Cleves Symmes or his agent or agents to alter the contract made between the late Board of Treasury and the said John Cleves Symmes for the sale of a tract of land of one million of acres in such manner that the said tract may extend from the mouth of the Great Miami River, to the mouth of the Little Miami, and be bounded by the river Ohio on the south, by the Great Miami on the west, and by a parallel of latitude on the north, extending from the Great Miami to the Little Miami, so as to comprehend the proposed quantity of one million of acres. Provided that the northern limits of the said tract should not interfere with the boundary line established by the Treaty of Fort Harmer between the United States and the Indian nations. And provided also that the President should reserve for the United States such lands at and near Fort Washington as he might think necessary for the accommodation of the garrison at that fort.<sup>8</sup> By this law before any alteration could be made in the contract it was necessary that John Cleves Symmes should request it, and we find that in pursuance of the said act of Congress John Cleves Symmes did by a certain instrument of writing under his hand and seal bearing date the 29th of September 1794--request that the contract made between the commissioners of the Treasury and himself and associates might be altered according to the stipulations of the act of Congress.<sup>9</sup>

On the receipt of this document from John C. Symmes, George Washington, the then President of the United States, by letter patent under his hand and the seal of the United States, dated at Philadelphia on the 30th day of September 1794, declared the contract made with John Cleves Symmes and his associates, to be entered as requested, and in the manner set forth in the law of Congress on that subject.

From this examination we find that the boundaries of the tract of land sold to John Cleves Symmes have been several times varied. The boundaries designated in his original petition presented to Congress appears to be different from the boundaries as described in the contract made by him with the Board of Treasury and the boundaries designated in the act of Congress,

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<sup>8</sup>Laws U. S. Vol. 2 pa. 49.

<sup>9</sup>Land laws of the U. S. printed at Washington 1817 appendix, Pa. 8.



of the 12th of April 1792 is different from either. But this last described boundary of the tract of land sold to John Cleves Symmes as contained in the law of April 12th 1792, I take to be the true boundary of the purchase and that the inhabitants of the whole of this tract of country, which it is believed would extend north as far as the boundary line established by the treaty at Fort Harmer are entitled to equal advantages arising from the grant of the college township. The tract of country actually paid for by John Cleves Symmes and for which he received title, commonly called "Symmes patent," is much smaller, of which I shall remark hereafter: But the grant of the college township was given for the benefit of the inhabitants of the purchase according to the original contract, in pursuance of that contract Symmes actually took possession of the whole of the tract of one million of acres, and sold lands as well without as within the bounds of his patent, he had possession of the whole of the tract of land from 1787 to 1794, he had a contract for the whole of it, and had he paid for it agreeably to the conditions of his contract the whole of the lands would have been his, he sold tracts of land to individuals promiscuously all over the purchase, and many had paid him for, and made settlements on tracts of land without the bounds of the tract of land for which he afterwards received a patent, and the Congress of the United States always continued to recognize those sales made by John Cleves Symmes, for they appointed commissioners to examine, and granted pre-emption rights to all those who had purchased of John Cleves Symmes without the bounds of his patent.<sup>10</sup> This history and those circumstances, I think defined to us what is the bounds of Symmes purchase, and tend to show the extent of country interested in the advantages arising from the college township.

It appears that John Cleves Symmes failed to make payment for the whole of the tract of one million of acres as specified in his original contract, for we find that on the 5th day of May 1792, the Congress of the United States passed a law entitled, "An act authorizing the grant and conveyance of certain lands to John Cleves Symmes and his associates." (L. U. S. V. 2, P. 80) which authorized and empowered the President of the United States, to issue letters patent in the name and under the

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<sup>10</sup> See "special sales—John C. Symmes" in Land laws.





seal of the United States, thereby granting and conveying to John Cleves Symmes and his associates, and to their heirs and assigns in fee simple, such number of acres of land as the payment at that time made by the said John Cleves Symmes his agents or associates, under their contract of the 15th of October 1788, would pay for, estimating the lands at two-thirds of a dollar per acre, and making the several reservations, specified in the said contract.

The third section of this act further provided That the President be authorized and empowered by letters patent as aforesaid to grant and convey to John Cleves Symmes and his associates their heirs and assigns, in trust for the purpose of establishing an academy and other public schools and seminaries of learning, one complete township conformably to an order of Congress of the 2d of October 1787, made in consequence of the application of the said John Cleves Symmes for the purchase of the tract aforesaid.

And the fourth section of the same act, directs That the several quantities of land, to be granted and conveyed as aforesaid, should be included and located within such limits and lines of boundary as the President might judge expedient agreeably to the act passed the 12th day of April 1792. For ascertaining the bounds of a tract of land purchased by John Cleves Symmes, see Laws, U. S., Vol. 2, Pa. 80.

Agreeably to the provisions contained in the before recited law of Congress after an estimate had been made of the payments made by John Cleves Symmes and a survey made of the country, George Washington the then President of the United States did, by letters patent dated at Philadelphia the 30th day of September 1794, grant and convey to John Cleves Symmes and his associates all that certain tract of land beginning at the mouth of the Great Miami River and extending from thence along the Ohio River to the mouth of the Little Miami River: bounded on the south by the said river Ohio, on the west by the said Great Miami River, on the east by the said Little Miami River, and on the north by a parallel of latitude to be run from the said Great Miami River to the Little Miami River, so as to comprehend the quantity of—311,682 acres of land, and provision was made that the tract should be laid out into townships of six miles square, and amongst certain other restrictions and reser-



vations, as stipulated in the contract it was stipulated that out of each township in the said tract should be reserved and excepted the following Sections, Viz: Sec. No. 16 for the maintenance of schools; Sec. No. 29, for the purposes of religion—and Sec. No. 11, 8 & 26, for such purposes as the Congress of the United States should thereafter direct.

In and by the same patent it was also stipulated and “declared that one complete township or tract of land of six miles square to be located with the approbation of the governor, for the time being of the territory north west of the river Ohio, and in the manner and within the term of five years as nearly as may be in the centre of the tract of land herein before granted, Hath been and is hereby granted and shall be holden in trust to and for the sole and exclusive intent and purpose of erecting and establishing therein, an academy and other public schools and seminaries of learning, and endowing and supporting the same, and to and for no other use intent or purpose whatever.”

From this we learn the extent of Symmes' Patent and discover the difference between the boundaries of the Patent and the purchase. The Patent contains only 311.682 acres the purchase contained one million; however in the bounds of the patent was excepted and taken out the college township and the several reservations herein before mentioned, which were not calculated as a part of the 311.682 acres, the same reservation also applied to the purchase. The parallel of latitude which bounds the patent on the north is about half a mile north of the third entire range, the purchase would extend north at least to the thirteenth range as it was generally considered and believed that the tract of country south of the line established by the treaty of Fort Harmer and included between the Miami Rivers would not contain one million of acres.

Shortly after the purchase made by John Cleves Symmes of the tract of land lying between the Miami Rivers he proceeded to survey the same into ranges, townships and sections as his contract required, and proceeded to make arrangements for the disposal of it to individuals. In a pamphlet entitled “Terms of sale and settlement of Miami lands,” published by John Cleves Symmes at Trenton in the state of New Jersey in the year 1787, he designates the place where the college township was to be situated thus “One complete township to be given perpetually for



the purpose of an academy or college, to be laid off by the purchaser or purchasers as nearly opposite to the mouth of Licking River, as an entire township may be had eligible in point of soil and situation, to be applied to the intended object by the legislature of the state."<sup>11</sup> Agreeably [to] this notice and in conformity to the provisions and stipulations contained in the original contract, John Cleves Symmes after having surveyed the Miami purchase into sections or tracts of one mile square, previous to his making sales to individuals he located or set apart township numbered Three in the first entire range of townships situated on the waters of Millcreek, which he designated on the map of the Miami purchase and denominated the college township, and consequently for a considerable time afterward preserved it entire from sales.

This location and designation of a college township was made as early as the year 1789,<sup>12</sup> and fortunate would it have been had it remained as the college township to this day and the seminary been erected thereon, it is I believe the most valuable township in Symmes' purchase. It would have saved the trouble of drawing and introducing this bill, and save me the trouble of opposing its passage. I am not so accurately informed, in minute particulars, as to pretend to detail the motives of those concerned, or to particularise the causes why that township, was not applied in conformity to the original design, or how, or why, the settlers of the Miami purchase became deprived of a right which they thought secured to them by compact with the Congress of the United States neither is it important for the investigation of this subject to enquire. But the fact was such that no township was "located with the approbation of the governor" and passed for the benefit of the settlers as the patent requires, and that John Cleves Symmes at length broke in upon this township, for it appears that in the year 1799 he had aliened and sold to sundry individuals in township numbered Three, in the first range which was the township designated on the map and generally expected to be the college township, thirty-one of the sections of land therein contained, which put it out of his power to comply with the trust reposed in him as to that township.<sup>13</sup> How-

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<sup>11</sup> Symmes' Pamphlet Page 2.

<sup>12</sup> Reply to J. C. Symmes, Pa. 10.

<sup>13</sup> Journal of House of Represen. N. W. Ter. in 1799, Pa. 200.



ever in compliance with what he conceived to be his duty, according to the tenor of his contract, he submitted to Arthur St. Clair the governor of the then North-western territory, for his approbation the second township, in the second fractional range, being situated in the forks of the river Ohio and the Great Miami for the purpose of a college township; but the governor conceiving it to be differently situated from that referred to in the contract, and described in the letters patent; of an inferior quality and incumbered by a claim of one Elias Boudinot, and a suit at law at that time depending, respecting the title of said claimant did not think proper to accept it.

For the more full understanding of the situation of the college township at this time, and of the causes which led to the grant without the bounds of the purchase I would beg leave to read an extract from a communication of Governor St. Clair made to the house of assembly of the North-west territory in the year 1799.

"Many applications respecting the township granted for an academy were made to me by the people of the county of Hamilton, but as I had then never seen the patent to Mr. Symmes and his associates, and did not know that the approbation of the governor of the location that might be made by them, was required, it was replied that I could do nothing with it and saw no course to be taken, if they had broke the trust, but an application to Congress; at length a gentleman informed me that he had seen the patent and the governor's approbation of the location was expressly required: I then called on Mr. Symmes and requested him to allow me to peruse his patent, with which he readily complied. I found it to be with respect to that township as it had been represented and a copy of it has since been transmitted to me by the secretary of state. Mr. Symmes was then informed of the application which had been made to me and the necessity of laying out the township; on which he spoke of the second township in the second fractional range of townships—occasional conversation passed between us on the subject at several times afterwards, and on the 24th of July 1798, Mr. Symmes wrote a letter to me, which I send herewith, making a formal offer of that township for my approbation. In conversation soon afterward I stated to him the objections I had to that location, and the matter rested a





considerable time: I supposed the objections I had made would be considered by him as a refusal to approve, but the matter being brought to my view again, hearing of no new location and reflecting that the offer had been made in writing and might possibly be considered such a location as the patent required, and that the refusal had been only verbal conversation, which might easily be forgotten, and could not be made to appear—on the 15th of last July I wrote a letter to Mr. Symmes of which the following is an extract:—"I have never sir, formally replied to your letter of the 24th July last, wherein you proposed the second township in the second fractional range of townships in the lands granted to you by patent on the 30th September 1794, should be accepted to satisfy the declaration in said patent that one complete township or tract of land of six miles square, to be located with the approbation of the governor of the territory for the time being as nearly as might be in the centre of the tract therein before granted to be holden in trust by you and your associates, to and for the sole and exclusive purpose of erecting and establishing an academy and other public schools and seminaries of learning, and endowing and supporting the same, was excepted out of the said grant, and you requested that the township then proposed should be approved by me and proclaimed as the proper township for the purpose of endowing an academy in the Miami purchase, I say, sir, to that proposal I have never formally replied, but you will please to recollect, sir, that before you sent me the above letter, and after I received it, you informed me in conversation, that it was the only complete township that remained in your possession and of course you could assign no other for the academy—that I mentioned my doubts that you could not assign that one neither, for I had been informed that one half of it had been sold to Mr. Elias Boudinot, and the deed from you to him was upon record here, and other parts of it were claimed by other persons—That you observed that it was not a deed of sale to Mr. Boudinot which you had made, but a conditional contract and that the contract not having been fulfilled on his part, the obligation ceased upon yours and you had a right to dispose of it as you thought proper. To that it was replied, that supposing the case to be so, still I could not think myself justifiable in approving of the proposed location, since, however it might be terminated, a lawsuit was unavoidable;



and also that it did not, in any way correspond with the situation pointed out, to wit: as nearly in the centre of the tract as may be. On that we parted, after your requesting me again to view the proposed township, and examine its natural advantages. I have not, sir, examined the township because I have been informed by every person I have conversed with on the subject, and I have conversed with a great many on it, that a very small part of it is fit for cultivation, and I have since learned that a suit in chancery has been commenced by Mr. Boudinot, to compel you to make a deed for that part of it conditionally sold. As all this conversation may however be forgotten and the offer, or location, as it may perhaps be called, of the second township, in the second fractional range of townships, therein to establish an academy &c. has been made in writing in the before mentioned letter of the 24th July 1798, it is proper that the approbation or disapprobation of the sale should be in writing also. I request you therefore, sir, to take notice that for the reasons above mentioned. to wit: That the title to a part of it at least is in dispute, that it does not answer to the situation called for in the patent and, that according to information, it is of very mean quality, which if true would defeat the purpose for which it was granted; The location of the second township in the second fractional range of townships for the purpose of erecting therein an academy and other schools and for endowing and supporting the same, Is not approved, and cannot by me, be declared to be the lot granted to you in trust, for those purposes, and I must request you, sir, as soon as may be, to point out another township free from those objections."

To that letter I have not received an answer. The applications which Mr. Symmes made to Congress for a township for an academy, a copy of which I have lately seen, points out the place contemplated by him, with more precision than the patent does. The request is, that it may be granted as nearly in the centre of the tract, and *opposite the mouth of Licking* as may be, where the soil and situation in other respects may be suitable; (I do not give the very words because I did not take a copy.) and it would seem that a certain township, answering that description, had been somehow pointed out at an early day, for there is one answering the description in all respects, and to this day is distinguished by the name of the college township.



The sale to Mr. Boudinot before spoken of, is contained in certain articles of agreement entered into between Mr. Symmes and him, on the 12th day of March 1788, and recorded in Book No. 2, letter B, page 107, of the records of the county of Hamilton. Which after a recital setting forth that Mr. Symmes had contracted with Congress for a large tract of land between the Little and Great Miamies, proceeds, after another recital, in these words 'And whereas the said John C. Symmes intends and proposes to reserve to himself in the said purchase in his private right one certain township in the fork of the Ohio River and Great Miami, and the fractional parts of those townships and sections which lie between such townships and the Ohio and Great Miami on which he hath laid out the plan of a city on paper &c.' And then goes on after that description 'and whereas the said Elias is desirous of becoming jointly and equally interested in the said township sections, and fractions with the said John Cleve Symmes and in the said city and reserved lands, in case he should obtain a deed for the same from Congress; now these presents Witness that the said John Cleve Symmes for and in consideration of the sum of one hundred pounds, lawful money of the state of New Jersey, to him in hand well and truly paid, and also of the sum of one hundred pounds more to be taken by the said John Cleve Symmes, of the first share of the sales he may make of other properties so to be sold in common between them, belonging also to the said Elias, hath agreed to sell, transfer and confirm, and by these presents, doth engage to sell transfer, convey and confirm, unto the said Elias Boudinot, his heirs and assigns forever, Whenever and as soon as the said John Cleve Symmes shall obtain a deed therefor from Congress. The one equal and undivided moiety or half part of all and singular the said township sections and fractions of sections, and reserved lands as aforesaid, elected and taken by the said John Cleve Symmes in the forks of the said rivers as aforesaid; subject to certain regulations and conditions which are there set forth.' It is alleged, that the township, which Mr. Symmes has offered in lieu of that in the centre of his tracts, granted to him in trust for an academy is one of those mentioned in the aforesaid articles of agreement.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Journal of Legislative council N. W. Ter. 1799, Pa. 30.



On the contract above referred to in the governor's communication, Elias Boudinot, in the month of June 1797 filed his bill on the equity side of the circuit court of the United States, for the eastern district of Pennsylvania, in the third circuit for a specific performance of the contract; on this bill process was issued, and served on Mr. Symmes requiring him to appear and answer. In this court after the various continuances and delays customary in a court of Justice, the Judges of the Court sitting at Philadelphia in the month of May 1802 made a final decree in favor of the complainant, in which it is declared that the complainant amongst other things, is justly entitled to a specific performance on the part of the defendant, of the aforesaid contract dated the 12th day of March 1788, and conformably thereto ordered and decreed, that the said John Cleves Symmes should on or before the 2d day of February thence next, at the clerks office in the city of Philadelphia, make execute and deliver to the complainant a good and sufficient deed or deeds of conveyance, in fee simple, thereby conveying to him his heirs and assigns forever, in due form of law, the undivided moiety or equal half part, of all and singular that entire reserved township, situate lying and being in the fork of the Ohio and Great Miami Rivers in the North-western territory, with fractional parts of townships and sections, which lie north, south and west between said entire township and the rivers Ohio and Great Miami, with covenant of warranty on the part of the defendant, excepting lands bona fide, sold and conveyed prior to the 1st day of June 1788, which land so sold the defendant was ordered to account for.<sup>15</sup>

The remaining interest of John Cleve Symmes in that township of lands was afterwards taken in execution as his property, and sold by the sheriff of Hamilton county in the state of Ohio.

In consequence of sundry communications made by the governor of the North-western territory to the legislative council and House of Representatives in general assembly, convened at Cincinnati in the year 1799, they were induced to take the claim of the Miami settlers, to a college township, under their consideration, and from every information in their possession, conceiving that John Cleve Symmes and his associates had aliened and disposed of thirty one sections in the township

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<sup>15</sup> Reply to J. C. Symmes, Pa. 19—copy of Decree Pa. 54.





originally appropriated for a college and consequently that it was out of the power of John Cleves Symmes to comply with the trust reposed in him and his associates, a committee was appointed, to take into consideration the mode of obtaining the township aforesaid, or an equivalent for so much thereof as could not be obtained for the purposes for which the grant was originally made.<sup>16</sup> On the report of which committee<sup>17</sup> for the laudable purpose of better securing the benefit contemplated to result from said grant, the following resolution was passed, which I shall beg leave to read.

“Whereas the President of the United States by letters patent bearing date the 4th day of September 1794, in pursuance of an act of Congress passed the 5th day of May 1792, made conformably to an ordinance of the second day of October 1787, granted to John Cleves Symmes and his associates their heirs and assigns in trust, one complete township, or six miles square of land, to be holden by the said John Cleves Symmes and his associates in trust, to and for the sole and exclusive intent and purpose of erecting and establishing therein an academy, and other public schools and seminaries of learning, and for endowing and supporting the same, to be located with the approbation of the governor of the territory, as near to the centre of a tract of land in the letters patent described, as might be. Yet by reason of the said John Cleves Symmes having aliened thirty one of the sections of the aforesaid township, most, and perhaps the whole of the sales whereof took place before he received his patent, and there now remains of the same township only the five sections following, to wit: Nos. 8, 11, 16, 26 & 29, the benefits contemplated to result from the aforesaid trust, must inevitably be lost, unless prompt measures be taken for securing the same.

Therefore Resolved.

By the legislative council and house of representatives in general assembly, That William H. Harrison, Esquire delegate to serve for this territory in the Congress of the United States, be instructed to use his endeavors to procure an act of Congress to be passed at the present session, vesting in certain

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<sup>16</sup> Journal House Representatives N. W. Ter. 1799, Pa. 42.

<sup>17</sup> Journal H. R. N. W. Ter. 1799, Pa. 51 & Pa. 183.



trustees and their successors resident within the grant of land to John Cleves Symmes and described in the letters patent aforesaid the right of the aforesaid lots, to wit: Nos. 8, 11, 16, 20, & 29, in the third township east of the Great Miami River and first entire range of the grant afore said, to be holden by the said trustees and their successors, in trust to and for the sole use intent and purpose of establishing an academy and endowing and supporting the same, whose conduct and mode of succession shall be subject to the control and direction of the legislature of the Territory, and of the state in which the same tract of country may be hereinafter included. And that the said William H. Harrison be also instructed, if practicable, to obtain a grant of thirty one sections of land, in a body, lying on the bank of the Great Miami River, on the west side, and so high up the said river as to lie in a square, and the whole thereof to be east of a line extending due north from the mouth of the Great Miami River, to and for the uses, intents and purposes aforesaid, and in lieu of those aliened by the said John Cleves Symmes.

And further, if the said William H. Harrison cannot effect the purposes aforesaid, that he use all legal means in his power to have such measures taken as will compel the said John Cleves Symmes to make good the trust aforesaid, or render an equivalent for the same, to be appropriated agreeably to the same use and intent of the original donation."<sup>18</sup>

The Convention who framed the constitution of the state of Ohio, in November 1802 addressed a similar request to the Congress of the United States. In compliance with those several requests made by the legislature and convention, the Congress of the United States conceiving that the settlers of the Miami purchase had a claim on their justice, did by an act passed the 3d day of March 1803 entitled<sup>19</sup> "An act in addition to and in modification of the propositions contained in the act entitled an act to enable the people of the eastern division of the territory North-west of the river Ohio, to form a constitution and state government and for the admission of such state into the Union on an equal footing with the original states, and for other purposes," by which act it was declared That one

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<sup>18</sup> Journal of House Representatives N. W. Ter. 1799, P. 200.

<sup>19</sup> L. U. S. 2 Ses. 7 Cong. Pa. 262.



complete township in the state of Ohio and district of Cincinnati, or so much of any one complete township within the same as may then remain unsold, together with as many adjoining sections as should have been sold in the said township so as to make in the whole thirty six sections, to be located under the direction of the legislature of the said state on or before the first day of October thence next ensuing, (Oct. 1st 1803,) with the Register of the United States land office at Cincinnati, should be, and the same was thereby vested in the legislature of the state of Ohio, for the purpose of establishing an academy, in lieu of the township already granted for the same purpose by virtue of the act entitled "An act authorizing the grant and conveyances of certain lands to John Cleves Symmes and his associates." Provided However that the same should revert to the United States, if within five years after the passage of that act a township should have been secured for the said purpose within the boundary of the patent, granted by virtue of the above mentioned act, to John Cleves Symmes and his associates.

The fifth section of the said act further provided that the attorney general of the United States at the time being, should be directed and authorized to locate and accept from the said John Cleves Symmes and his associates, any one complete township within the bounds of the said patent so as to secure the same for the purpose of establishing an academy in conformity to the provisions contained in the said patent, and in case of non-compliance, to take or to direct to be taken such measures as would compel an execution of the trust. *However it was provided*, That John Cleves Symmes and his associates, should be released from the said trusts, and that the said township should vest in them or any of them, in fee simple upon payment into the Treasury of the United States, of fifteen thousand three hundred and sixty dollars, with interest from the date of the above mentioned patent, to the day of such payments."<sup>20</sup>

In conformity to this act of Congress which I have read, and for the purpose of carrying the provisions therein contained into effect the legislature of the state of Ohio on the 15th day of April, passed an act entitled "An act to provide for the locating a college township in the district of Cincinnati." (L.

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<sup>20</sup> Laws of U. S. 2d Sess. 7 Cong. Pa. 265.



O. V. 1, P. 66.) By that law it was enacted, That one complete township in the district of Cincinnati or so much of any one complete township within the same as might remain unsold together with as many adjoining sections as should have been sold in the said township, so as to make in the whole thirty six sections, should be located and entered in due form with the register of the United States land office at Cincinnati on or before the first day of October thence next for the use and support of an academy in lieu of the college township heretofore granted in trust to John Cleves Symmes and his associates by the United States, and in pursuance of and agreeably to an act of Congress entitled "An act in addition to, and in modification of the propositions contained in the act entitled "An act to enable the people of the eastern division of the territory North-west of the river Ohio to form a constitution and state government, and for the admission of such state into the union on an equal footing with the original states and for other purposes."

By the second section of that act Jeremiah Morrow, Jacob White and William Ludlow, were constituted and appointed commissioners to do, perform and transact all and every matter and thing that might be necessary to be done in locating and registering the said college township, or thirty six sections of land, and the said act provided that the said commissioners after being duly sworn faithfully to discharge their trust in this behalf should proceed without loss of time, to explore the vacant or unlocated lands of the United States, in the land district of Cincinnati, and after due examination should select such tract or tracts (as the case might require) as are most valuable, having due regard to the quality of the land, the situation for health, the goodness of the water, and the advantages of inland navigation. And after the location should have been so made and registered, the said commissioners should procure two fair copies of the same location at entry from the register of the land office, one of which should be transmitted to the secretary of the Treasury of the United States, and the other should be deposited with the secretary of the state of Ohio. It was further provided by the said act, that if any of the aforesaid commissioners should die, remove, or refuse to serve, then and in that case the two remaining com-





missioners should proceed to locate and register the said college lands in the manner prescribed by the said act."<sup>21</sup>

Agreeably to the provisions contained in the above recited act Jacob White and William Ludlow, two of the commissioners appointed by the act, having met and been first duly sworn as the law directed, proceeded to the duties of their appointment and on the first day of September in the year 1803 located in the name of the state of Ohio, with the register of the United States land office at Cincinnati, so much of township numbered Five, in the first range of township east of the Meridian line drawn from the mouth of the Great Miami River, as remained unsold at that time, but two sections and an half of that township having been previously sold, in lieu thereof the said commissioners located and entered Two and an half sections adjoining thereto, to make up the complement of thirty six sections of land, the whole containing according to the returns of the surveyor general 23,321.<sup>6</sup>/<sub>100</sub> acres.<sup>22</sup> This location was made by the said commissioners, within the time required and in conformity to the stipulations contained in the above recited acts, and copies of the said location and entry disposed of as directed by the act, of which proceedings report was made to the legislature of the state of Ohio, at their next session in December 1803.<sup>23</sup>

The Miami college lands remained in this situation until the year 1809, at which time no other township having been secured for the purpose of a college township, within the limits of the patent granted to John Cleves Symmes, and his associates, and five years having expired since the passage of the law of Congress, which granted an entire township in lieu of the township which had been granted within John Cleves Symmes purchase, the right to this township now became certain and the senate and house of representatives of the state of Ohio, proceeded to legislate on the subject and by their act passed on the 17th day of February 1809 incorporated the Miami University.<sup>24</sup>

The legislature by this act appointed a board of trustees

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<sup>21</sup> Laws of Ohio Vol. 1 Pa. 66.

<sup>22</sup> See Entry No. 204 in the Books of the Register, U. S. Land office, Cin. Cf. "Quarterly," Vol. IV. pp. 11-13.—Ed.

<sup>23</sup> Journal H. R. Ohio 1803 Pa. 36.

<sup>24</sup> Laws of Ohio Vol. 9 pa. 184.



and created them a body politic and corporate to be known and distinguished by the name and style of the "President and Trustees of the Miami University," and vested in them the Miami college lands for the sole and exclusive benefit and support of said University; thereby prescribing the mode in which the said lands should be disposed of and in what manner the proceeds should be appropriated. This act also appointed Alexander Campbell, James Kilbourn and Robert J. Wilson commissioners who should meet at Lebanon in the county of Warren on the first Tuesday in June thence next, and after having taken an oath, faithfully to discharge the duties assigned them, should proceed to examine and select the most eligible situation within the bounds of John Cleves Symmes purchase for the permanent seat of the Miami University; and in case either of the commissioners should neglect or refuse to act the governor was authorized to appoint others in their room.<sup>25</sup> Accordingly Alexander Campbell and James Kilbourn, two of the commissioners appointed met at Lebanon in the county of Warren, on the day fixed in the act and proceeded to visit and examine various situations within the limits of John Cleves Symme's purchase from the Ohio River on the south as far north as the Yellow Springs and the town of Dayton. But Lebanon in the county of Warren was the place in favor of which the two commissioners reported as the most eligible scite for the Miami University, of which opinion they made report to the legislature at their next session.<sup>26</sup> But the legislature discovering that Robert G. Wilson, one of the commissioners appointed on that business had not met nor any other been appointed by the governor in his room as was contemplated by the act by which the appointment was made; and consequently the examination of the premises, and the determination on the pretensions of rival claimants being only heard and adjudged by two (instead of three) it was considered that a door was still open for contention and adverse pretensions to the scite, and that the inhabitants of Symmes purchase, for whose benefit it was intended might consider the location as not made on the most equitable principles; at all events the legislature refused to confirm the Report made by the two commissioners.

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<sup>25</sup> Laws of Ohio Vol. 7 pa. 184.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Quarterly Vol. IV. p. 13.—Ed.



The consequence was that the scite of the University yet remained unfixed, and what was now best to be done presented itself for the consideration of the house. The lands from which the revenue must be raised, lay unproductive. To appoint another board of commissioners to make a new examination and determination, would be attended with delay and might be uncertain: Various proposals were made; but all conceiving it to be an object of first consequence to establish the scite as soon as possible and bring the lands into a productive state; far the greatest portion of the representatives believed it best to establish the scite of the University upon the lands which would have to support it, for reasons very obvious as it would not only accomplish the more immediate and convenient management of the funds arising from the lands to be leased; but also for the more important consideration of leasing them immediately, and for such prices as would produce the largest revenue for the support of the University: By fixing the seminary of learning on the township located for its support, these two desirable objects were thought most likely to be effected, and consequently the design of the institution much better promoted. A general satisfaction and unanimity of opinion appeared to pervade the house as well as the representation from the Miami purchase as those from the different parts of the state, except those of the county of Warren, whose prospects of local importance would be diminished from the height to which the report of the two commissioners had elevated them. However the advantages contemplated to flow from an immediate settlement of the Miami college lands and the great increase of the proceeds arising therefrom were thought too important objects, to be sacrificed for the local prospects of a small part of that section of country intended to reap the benefits of the institution; under these impressions the legislature resumed the consideration of establishing the site of the Miami University and by their act passed the 6th day of February 1810, established the Miami University on the college township, and thereby empowered and directed the board of trustees to lay out a town, and fix the permanent site of the seminary of learning on such particular spot on the college lands as they might deem most proper.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Laws of Ohio Vol. 8 pa. 94.



The President and trustees of the institution, in compliance with the requisitions of the law which I have recited met at the town of Hamilton in the county of Butler on the first Monday of March 1810, being the time and place appointed by the act of the general assembly, and proceeded to pass an ordinance to regulate the leasing of the lands belonging to the institution, and have selected a tract of one mile square on which they have laid out the Town of Oxford, on the east side of which is selected and set apart a handsome plat of ground for the site of the seminary of learning; the greater part of the lands and town lots have been sold by the board of trustees, agreeably to the laws regulating the disposal thereof, and are now held by individuals.

And now, more than twelve years after the college has been established; the land sold and improved; and buildings erected, and the college nearly ready to go into operation; a Bill is brought before this house to remove it from its present site.

This I take to be a brief, and I believe a correct history of the original grant of the college township, and the Miami University so far as it goes, and from this history we learn that the Congress of the United States did grant a college township for the benefit of the inhabitants of Symmes purchase, and vested the same in the legislature of the state of Ohio for the use and endowment of the seminary of learning. The legislature proceeded to legislate on the subject and by their act of the 6th of February 1810 established the Miami University on their own lands; this right of establishing the University on its own lands I think is a necessary implication, and must follow as a matter of course.

The original grant did contemplate that the township of land, as well as the seminary of learning should be within the limits of Symmes' purchase. But owing to certain circumstances beyond the control of either the legislature of the state of Ohio or the inhabitants of Symmes' purchase the township originally intended was lost and one in lieu thereof obliged to be located without the bounds of the purchase, from this I infer, by my manner of abstract reasoning that if the lands could be located out of the purchase the original grant necessarily implied that the college could be located on its own lands.





The location and establishment of the seminary of learning is intimately connected with the grant of land, the same authority which granted the lands and authorized the location of the township beyond the bounds of Symmes purchase, also I contend, by a certain and necessary implication, authorized the establishment of the seminary on the lands which belonged to itself.

The patent made by the President of the United States to John Cleves Symmes specifies, "That one complete township or tract of land of six miles square to be located with the approbation of the governor for the time being of the territory Northwest of the River Ohio, and in the manner and within the term of five years, as nearly as may be in the centre of the tract of land herein before granted, hath been, and is granted, and shall be holden in trust to and for the sole and exclusive intent and purpose of erecting and establishing THEREIN an academy and other public schools and seminaries of learning and endowing and supporting the same, and to and for no other use intent or purpose whatever."

The academy and other public schools and seminaries of learning were to be erected THEREIN, says the patent, in where? In the township set apart for their support is the meaning of the expression and appears to be the spirit and meaning of the whole transaction from first to last, the township it was stipulated should be "as nearly as may be in the centre of the tract of land granted" to John Cleves Symmes, for what purpose? What does this imply? Why most certainly that the seminaries erected on this township might be equally convenient to all the inhabitants of the purchase. That township "was granted and "was to be holden in trust to and for the sole and exclusive "intent and purpose of erecting *therein* an academy &c." is the words of the patent, which is certainly meaning that the seminary should be erected within the township set apart for its endowment, that township was to be as near the centre of the purchase as practicable, so that all the inhabitants of the purchase might be equally convenient to the seminary.

When the original township was lost and another in lieu thereof granted to be located by the act of Congress in 1803, and all the subsequent transactions relative to the college township appears to have an eye to the convenience of the Symmes



purchase, and to have the township located as convenient to the inhabitants of the purchase as an entire township could at that time be obtained. All this has been done, and the University established on the lands granted for its endowment. The present college township which has been located, is in lieu of the original township granted, by implication it forms, and is in fact, an additional part of Symmes purchase and the college erected thereon may constructively be said to be within the bounds of Symmes purchase, at all events it appears to be on the very township which the original grant contemplated.

Although the grant of land was expressly for the benefit of Symmes purchase, if the particular township granted had no exclusive right to the location of the seminary, no other part or section of that purchase had any right to have it established in its vicinity more than another, the citizens of Dayton or Urbana had no more right to have the seminary in their town than the citizens of Cincinnati; nor Cincinnati had no particular claim to it more than those of Franklin, Yellow Springs or Springfield: But it was given for the general good of all, to the advantages arising from the college township the citizens of Symmes purchase have an unalienable right, but the citizens of no particular section of that purchase have an exclusive right to the location of the college amongst them.

The object of Congress in making the grant was doubtless the establishment of a permanent fund, for the support of literature and science, that course of conduct then which would tend to produce the greatest source of revenue and be most useful to the citizens of the purchase generally is the true course to be pursued and is most consistent with the original object of the donation. By placing the scite of the University upon its own lands, the value of those lands are greatly enhanced, in consequence of which the lessees have bid off or purchased their lands at a much higher price (I think I would feel justified in saying one hundred percent higher) than they would otherwise have done had the college been located 30 or 40 miles distant from them, and this location of the college on the lands does not nearly attach an ideal value to them, but so soon as it shall be in operation, it will enable the lessees to pay the high rents which they have agreed to do, so soon as the college is in operation the various Professors Teachers and Students



which will be drawn to that place, must be supported and subsist on the productions of the soil of that neighborhood, and consequently afford a market for the surplus product of the township. Thus the farmer will sell his produce to the Professor, or the boarder of the student, and receive the money for it. This money he will pay into the Treasury of the institution for his rents, and the treasurer will pay it out to the Professors and teachers again, thus will the coin of the township perform regular revolutions and in turn be paid back to the cultivator of the soil. Another source of revenue which the establishment of the seminary on its own lands has a tendency to produce, is the revenue which has accrued, and which is annually accruing from the sale of the lots in the village of Oxford. The establishing of the seminary at that place will support a small village and enable the holders of lots to pay the interest annually on the purchase money of their lots, which I think at present annually amounts to about the sum of \$260.00 or \$270.00, had the seminary not been located on its own lands this source of revenue could never have accrued.

Another advantage which the scite at Oxford in my opinion possesses is a very material one. Oxford is an inland town and not likely ever to become a large or commercial place, such a situation I think a much more proper place for a seminary of learning than a large commercial city. Although the Bill under consideration does not designate any particular place for the scite of the institution; should it be again set upon wheels and transported to some other situation, yet my mind is involuntarily brought to conclude that if the scite of the institution was once more affixed, the population, the wealth and influence which exist in the southern part of Symmes purchase would unquestionably draw the location of the college to near the Ohio River and should the scite of the University be again to be located, from these and various other considerations I think I could point to the city of Cincinnati with a confidence almost amounting to a certainty as the future location of the University.

The minds and the hearts of youth at the age at which they are generally prepared to enter a college, are from their tender sensibility, ready and susceptible to receive any im-



pression which may be made upon it. How carefully then ought we to guard their morals, and to keep them from being initiated and familiarised to the vices prevalent in a large and commercial city. If the common saying be true that genius is exposed to peculiar dangers at an early age I would infer that genius, and the moral conduct, of him in whom it appears, are to be kept under the restraints of parental authority, with uncommon strictness of discipline and vigilance of observation. It is not sufficient merely to give moral cautions; but actual restraints must be imposed; for, after all the boasts of moral philosophy, the most effectual method of restraining young people from vice, is to watch them circumspectly, to keep them at home, and at a distance from temptation, for that susceptibility of temper, which, when unrestrained, and exposed to temptation, leads to vicious habits and indulgences, will attach itself with equal strength to all that is good, laudible and lovely if care be taken that nothing but what is truly so, be allowed to solicit the attention. Literature and science will furnish a variety of delightful objects, capable of engrossing both the affections and the imaginations so long as the allurements of the senses are as much as possible removed from the view.<sup>28</sup>

I would ask any member of this house, if he would not much rather send his son to receive his education at some remote and small village where religion, morality, and correct deportment were known to be the characteristics of the inhabitants, than to send him to a large commercial city. For my own part I had rather send my son to a seminary of learning provided there were able professors, even though it should be "*immersed in the gloom of the Beech woods*" as the gentlemen will have it, if the boy could be boarded in the seminary, than to send him to a large commercial city where he would be daily exposed to the temptations and vices which are always prevalent in large cities. Nothing has a greater tendency to draw off and divert the attention of a student from his studies than the gaieties and allurements of a city, and when once a taste is formed, and a habit of indulgence in those gaieties or vices acquired I fear the progress and capacity of study will be very much broke in upon. It is not in the dust of a merchant's shop, or amidst the din of mechanics' hammers, much

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<sup>28</sup> Knox Es. V. i pa. 311.





less at a theatre, a tavern, or a grog-shop, that the classics can be read with most advantage. It was not in.....that Plato wrote his.....nor in Rome that.....wrote his.....no, the one wrote in the secluded retirement of.....and the other far from the bustle of the world at.....[sic].

A general idea appears to prevail throughout the gentleman's remarks, and appears to be intended to be strongly impressed upon the minds of the members of this house, that Oxford is situated in a remote corner of the state, and at a vast distance from Symmes purchase. I would just beg leave to spend a few minutes in contrasting the distance from the several county seats in the purchase, to Oxford the scite of the University, with the distances from those county seats to Cincinnati, which I take to be the contemplated scite of the institution.

		M		M
From Lebanon	to Oxford is	32	to Cincinnati is	30
“ Hamilton	“ “	12	“ “	25
“ Franklin	“ “	24	“ “	32
“ Dayton	“ “	40	“ “	50
“ Xenia	“ “			
“ Springfield	“ “	65	“ “	75
“ Urbana	“ “			
“ Troy (Miami Co.)	“ “			

From this general view of the matter I do not perceive that Cincinnati would be a more central position than Oxford, on the contrary by making an addition of the several distances mentioned we find a distance of ... miles in favor of Oxford, consequently the scite of the college at Oxford is more convenient to the generality of the inhabitants of Symmes purchase by ... miles than Cincinnati would be, neither could the scite be located at any point where it would be such a vast deal more convenient to the majority of the inhabitants of Symmes purchase, was the exact geographical centre of the purchase ascertained and the college erected there, I apprehend the general advantage in point of convenience would not be very material as the present college township is located nearly opposite to the centre of the purchase from north to south and is only eight miles from the west bank of the Great Miami River to the college lands. Nor in my mind is a few miles distance such a very material matter.



Locate the college where you may, but a very small portion of the inhabitants of the purchase can educate their sons there without boarding them from home, and when the young man is to be boarded from home, and has to travel to the college it matters not much whether he travels ten miles or twenty miles before he arrives at his destination. Boarding at Oxford, it being an interior town, ought always to be cheaper than it could be obtained at Cincinnati, this circumstance alone to many would be a consideration worthy of attention.

These considerations induce me to conclude that Oxford is the most proper situation for the scite of the University and were there no obligations by which the scite of the seminary is bound to remain at Oxford, the reasons which present themselves in favor of that place I think would induce this house to decide in its favor. Whilst the seminary remains at Oxford, the funds arising for the support of the institution will be much greater than it could be if removed: The distance which the students will have to travel to the college will be little greater than at any other point where we could possibly locate it: They would not there be exposed to the vanities and vices with which they would be exposed in a large commercial city: And ultimately it would be more advantageous and useful to the citizens of Symmes purchase generally than it could be at any other place: And finally, as utility is the end and intention of the donation, the object of the original grant will be better accomplished by remaining at Oxford than by removing it to any other place whatever. And such I conceive to have been almost the unanimous opinion of the legislature of 1810, for on the final passage of the bill establishing Miami University upon its own lands, in the house of representatives only 5<sup>29</sup>—and in the senate—only 8,<sup>30</sup> voted against its passage. The Board of Trustees of the institution in pursuance of their duty, and in conformity to the laws governing their conduct have disposed of a considerable portion of the township to individuals, and have executed and given leases to them and to their heirs and assigns, by which they are entitled to hold the several tracts of land which they have leased for the term of ninety nine years,

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<sup>29</sup> Journal of Ho. Rep. 1809-10, Pa. 297: Yeas, 40, No. 5.

<sup>30</sup> Journal of Sen. of Ohio 1809-10, p. 197: Yeas, 16, No. 8.



and are also entitled so often as the leases shall expire to have them renewed on the same terms and conditions forever.

Those settlers in the college township, made their purchases, and had a promise, and consequently made their purchases under a conviction that the Miami College or University, should be erected and remain in the town of Oxford, which was adjoining or contiguous to their little farms. In consideration of the advantages resulting from which, they gave a much higher price for the lands than they otherwise would have done. Consequently the assurances which they had of the University being fixed in the town of Oxford formed a part of their contract, in consideration of which, and the advantages resulting from the use of their lands, they on their part each agreed for himself, to pay annually for the support of the University a certain sum of money.

Now according to the common and universal received principle of law, that between two contracting parties, so soon as one of the contracting parties makes a breach, or failure to comply with the stipulations in the contract, on his part to be done and performed, the other contracting party is not only absolved from all obligation on his part, but also has a claim in law and in justice on the party violating the contract for the damages which he may have sustained in consequence of the violation. We have the lessees bound to us for the payment of certain sums of money annually. If they do not comply, we re-enter upon their lands; their right is declared to be at an end, and we again take possession of their lands. Must not this principle be reciprocal? Remove then, the University from Oxford and you render void every contract which has been made with the settlers of that township, and give each a claim to be remunerated the damages which they have sustained.

The same law which establishes the University at Oxford, also gives to the lessees the right of possession to their lands, touch one and you effect the other. How shall we attempt to divest those people of their rights when they hold up to our view our own act by which they claim a right to their property? Why drive them to the necessity of defending their rights in a court of law, as I presume they would do before they would tamely submit to have them wrested from them in this manner: at the bar of the federal court I presume they would claim re-



dress—and in that court I have no doubt but they would obtain it.

The constitution of the United States and the constitution of Ohio declares, "You shall make no *ex post facto* law." Would not a law to remove the scite of the Miami University be an *ex post facto law*? The constitution says "No law impairing the validity of contracts shall ever be made"—Would not a law to remove the scite of the University impair the validity of contracts? I humbly think it would, it is a principle perfectly plain, and which lies level with every man's understanding, to solve which it is only necessary to open the constitution of our country and examine the principles which it contains.

When the legislature of any country, gives to an individual any right whatever, and that individual accepts the terms of the grant, no subsequent law of that legislature can ever rightfully take it away. When the legislature by law creates a political existence, they can never constitutionally repeal that law and thereby dissolve the corporation. No—We have made a contract with the settlers of the college lands and we are bound by it—We have given them our promise and we must perform it. The faith of the state of Ohio is pledged to them, their rights are not to be set at naught—they rest not merely on the fluctuating notions of policy, but on obligations firm and steadfast as the pillars of our government—obligations flowing from the constitution; sanctioned by repeated laws, rivited by contracts made with individuals, and rendered sacred by the plighted faith of the state.

The principle that a legislature may rightfully repeal every law passed by a former legislature, when tested by reason and our constitution is untrue, destructive of the national faith, and pregnant with evils not to be described. Establish a doctrine of that kind and what follows; the whim of the moment will become the law of the land. Our country will be looked on as a den of robbers, every honest man will fly our state. And who will be found to trust the legislature of our own country when they are the first to violate their own contracts. Before I dismiss this subject I would beg leave to advert for a few moments, and for a few moments only, to the provisions contained in this bill, and the probable consequences which would ensue should it become a law.





I believe it is admitted on all hands, at least I think it a matter that admits of no serious dispute, that if we remove the scite of the University from Oxford, we violate an important stipulation in the contract made with the lessees of the college lands, and will be bound to compromise with them, not only for the value of the improvements which they have made on the lands but also to reduce their annual rents to be paid hereafter to such a sum as their lands are rendered less valuable in consequence of the removal of the college. This would be a necessary measure; for if the conditions of their contract is violated they would be released from their obligations on their part: this principle I believe accords with every just and legal principle with which I am acquainted, the consequence would be that the lessees would hold their lands without paying anything until the conditions of their contract should be restored. Let us advert to the means and probable conditions on which this compromise could be made.

The number of inhabitants in the college township I understand amounts to about ..... The number of country or farming lots of land sold to individuals and improved is about 160. . . . comprehending in the whole about 17,420 acres of land. The average value of the improvements on each of these lots I presume to be about \$..... This estimate of 160 lots at \$..... per each lot would make the value of the improvements on the country lots amount to the sum of \$..... [sic].

The value of the improvements made on the town and out lots in the town of Oxford I presume is at least ....., amounting in the whole to the sum of ..... [sic].

This sum at all events would have to be paid to the settlers of the college lands; now admitting the annual revenue of the college to be \$3,500.00 it would take a period of nearly ..... years for the revenue of the institution to pay the debts: But the moment the college was removed, the value of the lands would be reduced nearly one half, consequently the annual income would also be reduced, and the debt due to the settlers would bear an interest from the day it was liquidated until paid. This would make it perhaps.....[sic] before the debt due to the settler could be paid, and then after that is done, the lands might be again leased, and the revenue arising therefrom,



reduced as it would be, may be applied to the erection of suitable buildings for a college at the place where it may be established. This calculation I believe if you take facts as they exist and calculate closely, will be found nearly correct. Then let us pause and reflect if it is worth the enormous sum of.....[sic] to have the college removed and after a lapse of .....[sic] years to be no nearer a college, (nor not so near) as we are this day, would this be the way to advance the cause of literature and science. I think not. Had we not better expend the money which we would have to pay the settlers for their improvements, in erecting a college edifice? I humbly think we had, and I hope this bill will not prevail.

This bill if passed into a law I apprehend will stand as a foul stain on the legislature of Ohio, and will remain on our statute book as a landmark and a warning hereafter, to every stranger passing through our state, that no right however sacred; that no contract however solemnly made under the sanction of the legislature of the state, is able to protect him against the omnipotent power of a subsequent legislature and secure to him the quiet enjoyment of his rights and privileges.

The eyes of all the citizens of the state of Ohio are now upon us, and particularly those of Symmes purchase, and the passage of this bill will be infinitely more injurious as a precedent and principle which it would recognize, than the immediate injury which it would inflict on a large portion of the country.

December 1822.

James McBride.

## II.

### JAMES McBRIDE TO WILLIAM SPARROW.<sup>31</sup>

*Dear Sir,*

I received yours of the 17th [1824] on this subject of the M. U. I am unable to inform you positively of the time the trustees hold their next session at Oxford, however I think if

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<sup>31</sup> William Sparrow (1801-1874) was born at Charleston, Miss; studied at Trinity College Dublin and at Columbia University, New York. He was Professor of Languages at Miami University 1824-5. Professor at Kenyon College 1825-1841 and in the Theological Seminary, Alexandria, Va., 1841-1874. He took orders in the Protestant Episcopal Church in 1826. Cf. Murray's Weekly Volunteer, (Hamilton, Ohio) Dec. 20, 1824; Alumni Catalogue of Miami University (1892) p. xvii.—Ed.



my memory is correct it is on the .... day of April next. I have as yet only heard of three who are candidates for the chair of classick in that institution, they are yourself, a Mr. Kemper, who resides somewhere in or near Cincinnati and a Mr. Wood (?) who is at present engaged in the Ohio University at Athens; he visited Oxford and this place a few weeks since and returned to Athens.

I received a copy of a bill<sup>32</sup> which had been introduced in the legislature of this state, and which Mr. Higgins<sup>33</sup> wrote me that he thought would pass, appointing trustees. I enclose you the names of those named in the bill with a note made on it of their several places of residence. Any information or assistance which I can render you in this matter comporting with the interest of the institution shall be cheerfully given by, Dear Sir, with friendly sentiments of esteem

### III.

ROBERT H. BISHOP<sup>34</sup> D. D. TO THE SECRETARY OF  
THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF MIAMI UNI-  
VERSITY.

LEXINGTON, KY. AUGT. 2 1824.

Sir,

Your official notice of July 8th has been duly received. I am at present inclined to accept of the appointment but at the same time feel, that my engagements and connections here are of such a nature that I cannot at this date say when it shall

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<sup>32</sup> Cf. Local Laws of Ohio, Vol. 22, p. 68; Laws Relating to Miami University (1823) pp. 37-40.—Ed.

<sup>33</sup> David Higgins represented Butler County in the Ohio House of Representatives 1823-27 and was a Trustee of Miami University 1821-30.—Ed.

<sup>34</sup> Robert Hamilton Bishop (1777-1855) was born at Cult, near Edinburg, Scotland. He graduated from the University at Edinburg in 1798 and from the Associate Presbyterian Theological Seminary at Selkirk in 1802. In that year he was induced by Rev. John M. Mason of New York City to come to America and identify himself with the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church. Upon his arrival in this country he was assigned to the Presbytery of Kentucky and itinerated for a while in that state and in Southern Ohio. In 1804 he located at Lexington, Kentucky, taking pastoral charge of several congregations in that vicinity. The same year he was elected Professor of Logic and Moral Philosophy in Transylvania University. In 1818 he was made Professor of Mathe-



be in my power to enter upon the duties of the office. If in health however I hope I shall be able to wait upon the Board at their next meeting and give them at that time my final answer.

#### IV.

ROBERT H. BISHOP D. D. TO JAMES McBRIDE.

*My dear friend,*

CINCINNATI SEPT 21st 1824.

I wrote you this morning from Springfield<sup>35</sup> but beg leave to trouble you again. To many who may visit the college at Oxford, the manner in which the President is accommodated,

atics and Natural Philosophy. The teaching of Mathematics was soon assigned to an assistant and he was given History in its stead. In 1819 he connected with the Presbyterian Church. During his connection with the University he continued his pulpit ministrations which were highly appreciated. Rev. David McDill, Sr., who graduated from Transylvania University in 1813, says of him: "He soon ascended to a high rank among the pulpit orators of Kentucky. 'Clay at the bar, or Bishop in the pulpit' was at one time among the students of Transylvania University the 'ne plus ultra' of human greatness. There are and have been but few men in the United States who could wield a general principle with the same facility and apply it to such a variety of cases. This was his forte. In it he excelled Dr. Mason."

In 1824 Dr. Bishop accepted the Presidency of Miami University. Prior to this time the institution had had a precarious existence. In 1811 a school house had been erected on the University Reservation in which James Dorsey (Cf. note 39) had conducted a private school until 1818. In that year one wing of the University Building and a house for the President being completed, the Trustees opened a Grammar School with Rev. James Hughes (Cf. Note 36) as Principal. This school was maintained until 1821, when, the principal dying it was discontinued that the Main Building might be the more speedily finished. By 1824 this work was so well under way and the regular income of the Institution was such, that it was determined to raise the school to collegiate rank. The income for the year ending December 31, 1824, is shown by the records to have been \$4503.07½. To shape the policy of the young institution Dr. Bishop was eminently qualified. His administration of seventeen years, though not without imperfections, was on the whole "judicious, beneficent and successful." In 1841 Dr. Bishop resigned the Presidency of the Institution to accept the Professorship of History and Political Science, in which capacity he served until 1844. From that time till his death he devoted himself to the upbuilding of Farmer's College at College Hill, near Cincinnati. Cf. Mills, Life and Services of Rev. R. H. Bishop, D. D., to which is appended a few chapters from Dr. Bishop's Autobiography; The Diamond Anniversary Volume of Miami University, pp. 86-90.—Ed.

<sup>35</sup> Now called Springdale. Doctor Bishop was on his way home from Oxford, where he met with the Board of Trustees, Sept. 20, and accepted the presidency of Miami University. Cf. Records of Board of Trustees of M. U. Vol. I.—Ed.





will be a matter of very little moment, but to many others, and those too who may have an extensive influence on the fate of the institution this little thing will be a *great thing*. Now there is not a room in that old building<sup>36</sup> into which I could invite such people. It is necessary also that that old building have some repairs, and be whitewashed both within and without. This I suppose will not be deemed any way inconsistent with the powers vested in the building committee. Whatever is done must if possible be done by the last of Octr. The place, or situation of the proposed new siting room is to me a matter of indifference only that it be set convenient to the door of the old building. Should it not be convenient for the Board to expend the money at this time, I will advance out of my first year's salary \$220, to be repaid to me or my family when I shall have to use it. With the addition proposed that old building will be a comfortable habitation for five or six years. Before that period the Board will not contemplate erecting any other buildings for the use of any of the officers of the University. And by that time the experiment so far as I may be concerned will be fully made, or I may be by that time in the narrow house appointed for all living.

Peace be with you,

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<sup>36</sup> In 1818 the school building erected on the campus in 1811 (Cf. Quarterly, Vol. IV, p. 22, Note 49), in which James Dorsey had conducted his "Select School" from 1811-18, was transformed into a residence. A second story was added and other changes were made to render it suitable "for the reception of the teacher of the Grammar School and his family." This personage was named James Hughes, a Presbyterian clergyman, who had pursued his literary and theological studies under Reverends Joseph Smith, Thaddeus Dodds and John McMillan, D. D. In 1790 he was ordained by the Old Redstone Presbytery, being the first person to receive ordination west of the Alleghenies. He served as pastor of Cross Creek and Lower Buffalo, Penna., 1790-1814, and of the Urbana Presbyterian Church 1815-1818. In 1818 he organized the Presbyterian Church at Oxford and served as its pastor until his death in 1821. He was a Trustee of Jefferson College 1804-1814 and of Miami University 1815-1819 and Principal of the "Grammar School of Miami University" 1818-1821. While serving in this capacity he received a salary of \$500 and one-half of the tuition of \$5 per session. He was also "furnished with a house and garden free of rent." This house stood just West of Franklin Hall, a brick structure, containing 12 rooms, that was completed in 1818, at the cost of \$6167, and which served as a recitation hall and also as a dormitory for the non-resident students. Cf. Records of the Board of Trustees of Miami University, Vol. I, p. 259; Porter, History of the Presbyterian Church of Oxford, Ohio, pp. 8, 9.—Ed.



## V.

## WILLIAM SPARROW TO JAMES McBRIDE.

CINCINNATI SEPT. 30th 1824.

*Dear Sir,*

When I last saw you I expressed a wish that the publication<sup>37</sup> relative to our Oxford Institution might not be made for a few weeks. I am happy to inform you that my reason for that wish no longer exists. I obtained my degree a few days ago and I have only to hope that all *other* objections to my appointment may be as easily removed as that was.

You have doubtless heard of Bp. Chase's arrival in the United States and perhaps also that our church is to hold a convention in Chillicothe the 3rd of November. If possible, I wish to attend it, for various reasons but especially that I may stand an examination preparatory to taking orders next spring. Should I go I shall be absent from Oxford about a week but I will not, unless Dr. Bishop or Mr. Annan<sup>38</sup> shall have arrived in time to take charge of the students—in any case I will not, to whatever inconvenience it may subject me, if you and Mr. Higgins should think inexpedient. A few lines on the subject would much oblige your very humble servt.

## VI.

## JAMES McBRIDE TO WILLIAM SPARROW.

HAMILTON OCT 11th 1824.

*Dear Sir,*

The committee of the M. U. appointed to superintend the Building was at Oxford last week, for the purpose of effecting some repairs & arrangements about the building preparatory to the reception of the faculty by the 1st of Nov. next. By a letter from Dr. Bishop which I have seen he expects to leave

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<sup>37</sup> Cf. Murray's Weekly Volunteer (Hamilton, Ohio) for Dec. 20, 1824.

<sup>38</sup> John Ebenezer Annan ( -1830) graduated from Dickinson College in 1824 and from Princeton Theological Seminary in 1829. He was Professor of Mathematics and Science in Miami University 1824-28, and pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Lewisburg, Va., 1829-30. Cf. Alumni Catalogue of Miami University (1892), p. xvii.—Ed.



Lexington with his family about the middle of this month, in which event he will be at Oxford at the opening of the school. No intelligence has been yet received from Mr. Annan, but it can hardly be expected that he will arrive by the 1st of Novr.

As to your attending the convention at Chillicothe I can only express my opinion as an individual member of the Board, which is that in case either Mr. Bishop or Mr. Annan should be present, no very great inconvenience could result from your absence for one week, however should it so happen that neither of them should have arrived very great injury to the institution would be the consequence. I would suggest the propriety of your calling on Mr. Bishop either as he may pass through Cincinnati, or after his arrival at Oxford and making an arrangement with him relative to the attention due to your department in the college, and also, that you should address the Board of Trustees (who meet on the 2d day of Nov.) on the subject of your absence. I should be pleased that you may be enabled to attend the convention, it would doubtless be to your advantage, and what would be to your advantage I trust would be to the interest of the M. U. as I hope your interest is now identified with the interests of the institution.

## VII.

JAMES M. DORSEY<sup>39</sup> TO JAMES McBRIDE, ESQ.

OXFORD, DECEMBER 19, 1824.

*Dear Sir,*

Since my return from Hamilton, I have conversed with Doct<sup>r</sup> Bishop, Mr. Annan and Mr. Sparrow respecting a Bell for the University: they are all of opinion that one of an hun-

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<sup>39</sup> James Maxwell Dorsey (1776-1837) was born in Baltimore County, Md. For several years he was a teacher in the city of Baltimore. In 1809 he moved to Cincinnati and the following year became a resident of Oxford, where in 1811 he opened a "Select School" in a building erected for this purpose by the University Trustees which was located near where Brice Hall now stands. This School met the needs of the frontier community until 1818, when a more pretentious building having been erected and a regular income from the University lands having been provided the Grammar School was opened by the Trustees and placed



dred pounds weight, will be of very little use; that it would be best to defer getting one untill a much larger could be got; that a trumpet which they now use will answer very well for a year or two. Doctr Bishop is of opinion that the real interest of the University, as well as its character abroad, requires that two or three hundred Dollars be, as soon as possible, expended in procuring philosophical apparatus.

## VIII.

JAMES McBRIDE TO ABRAHAM I. CHITTENDEN.

HAMILTON, JAN. 22d, 1825.

*Dear Sir,*

The Committee appointed by the Board of Trustees of the Miami University to make arrangements for the Inaugural ceremonies of the Reverend Robert H. Bishop, D. D. as President of the University which is to take place on the 30th of March next have taken the liberty to appoint you marshal of the day. The Committee regret that they had not an opportunity of consulting you previous to the appointment. However, from your philanthropy and known disposition to serve the institution which they believe are inherent traits in your character, they have no hesitation in believing that you will accept the appointment and give every assistance to the committee in your power. The two members of the committee who are present feel some embarrassment in prescribing the order of the procession and ceremonies, not having the assistance of David Higgins, Esquire, the other member of the committee, who is well acquainted with the order of such ceremonies, and on whom we had depended to make the principal arrangements. However, it has

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under the direction of Rev. James Hughes. (Cf. Note No. 36.) While the College buildings were being erected Mr. Dorsey was Superintendent of Construction and from 1824 until 1827 he served as Treasurer of the University. In 1816 he together with William Ludlow and others organized a society known as the "Rational Brethren of Oxford." (Cf. Quarterly, Vol. IV, p. 10, Note 11.) In 1830 he located at New Harmony, Ind., where he associated with Robert Dale Owen. In 1833 he moved to Greenville, Ohio, and in 1845 to Piqua, where he resided till his death.—ED.





become necessary to issue this circular thus early, to give timely notice to those appointed to take part in the ceremony.

The general order of the procession, which we have thought proper to adopt you will learn from the accompanying circular. I had supposed that when the procession is formed at the Methodist church, according to the order prescribed that they should move with the band of Music in front, in such manner as you may think proper to direct, to the college door, where they should halt, and the two ranks facing inward, when those on the left or rear should march forward between the two files and proceed into the chapel.

Should any female attend at the church, and the rules of propriety require that they should form part of the procession, it would be your duty to arrange them, the married and unmarried, in their appropriate positions. I am not sufficiently informed on this matter to know what is proper or improper; but if it is requisite that the females should form part of the procession, I should suppose the unmarried should be placed in front, all dressed in white, if convenient, and followed by the elderly matrons—however, I write at random—on these subjects, I presume you are better acquainted with commanding squadrons of this description than I am.

I think it would be well if a good choir of singers can be procured to carry the different parts of musick, to have them selected and arranged together in an appropriate situation in the room, to accompany the musick required during the ceremonies. Suitable odes and pieces of music for the occasion will be furnished, which it is expected will be sung by the choir, accompanied by the band of music. I have understood that there are a number of musicians in Oxford, who play well on different instruments. If there should not be a sufficient number in Oxford, there are several in Hamilton, who I know would cheerfully give their assistance on the occasion.

If there is anything improper, in what is here suggested, or if anything is omitted, in the circular, which ought to be attended to, I should be gratified if you would suggest it to the committee.

Your acceptance of the appointment, will confer an obligation on the committee, and be particularly gratifying to your friends and humble servant



[Accompanying Circular.]

## MIAMI UNIVERSITY.

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Inauguration of

ROBERT H. BISHOP, D. D.,

As President of THE MIAMI UNIVERSITY, on Wednesday, the  
30th day of March, 1825.

A procession to be formed at the Methodist Church in Oxford, precisely  
at eleven o'clock, A. M.

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### ORDER OF THE PROCESSION.

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CITIZENS,  
STUDENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY,  
SECRETARY, TREASURER, AND COLLECTOR,  
TRUSTEES OF THE UNIVERSITY,  
PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD, AND PROFESSORS.

The procession will then move to the College Chapel, where the Inaugural  
will take place.

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### ORDER OF THE EXERCISES.

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1. MUSIC.
  2. INTRODUCTORY PRAYER, by the Reverend David Purviance.
  3. ADDRESS, by the Reverend William Gray.
  4. MUSIC.
  5. DELIVERY OF THE CHARTER, KEYS, ETC., AND A  
CHARGE TO THE PRESIDENT, By the Rev. John Thompson.
  6. INAUGURAL PRAYER, by the Reverend Alexander Porter.
  7. ADDRESS; By President Bishop.
  8. MUSIC.
  9. CONCLUDING PRAYER, By the Reverend Stephen Gard.
- Abram I. Chittenden, Esq., Marshal of the day.

DAVID HIGGINS  
DAVID MACDILL  
JAMES M'BRIDE

Committee on Arrangement.



## IX.

### JAMES McBRIDE TO JOEL COLLINS<sup>40</sup> ESQ.

*Dear Sir,*

HAMILTON OCT 31st, 1836.

I have received a confidential communication from a gentleman of the first respectability of Cincinnati, that an effort backed by a powerful influence will be made at the next session of our legislature, to transfer the revenue of the M. U. to the college at Cincinnati; this gentleman however did not wish his name to be mentioned in connection with this subject.

He informed me that a certain gentleman called on him and told him he was offered a professorship in the college at Cin. about to be recussitated and asked his candid opinion on the subject. He stated that it was in contemplation to engraft on the charter of the Cincinnati college<sup>41</sup> another charter raising it to the rank of a University at the next session of the Legislature, and to negotiate with the Woodward high school<sup>42</sup> for a transfer of their funds and revenue, which amounts to

<sup>40</sup> Joel Collins (1772-1860) was born in Halifax Co., Va. At the age of seven he moved with his parents to Kentucky, and in 1806 to Oxford Township, Butler Co., Ohio. He was Captain of one of the Ohio companies that served in the War of 1812. He represented Butler County in the Ohio Legislature 1817-1827, and was Judge of the Common Pleas Court of Butler County 1830-37. He served as secretary of Miami University 1822-55. Cf. McBride, *Pioneer Biography*, pp. 179-264.—Ed.

<sup>41</sup> Cincinnati University despite the liberal support accorded it by the public spirited citizens soon found itself in such financial straits that its operations were suspended in order that the income might be applied toward liquidating its debts. In 1836 it was revived and William H. McGuffey was elected its president. Even under the administration of a man of such recognized ability it did not succeed and in a few years it again closed its doors. Cf. Venable, "Education in Cincinnati" in "History of Cincinnati and Hamilton County," pp. 99, 100.—Ed.

<sup>42</sup> In 1826 the "Woodward Free Grammar School" was founded and endowed by William Woodward. In 1830 a Public School System having been established it was changed to a High School. In 1836 it was raised to Collegiate rank and continued until 1857. In that year its Trustees placed its grounds, buildings and income at the disposal of the Cincinnati School Board to be used toward the erection of a more commodious building to be known as the Woodward High School. Cf. *Old Woodward Memorial*, pp. 11-56.—Ed.



\$3000 or \$4000 annually and induce them to unite their future destiny with the contemplated University; this attempt has since been made and came within one vote of the directors of that institution, in succeeding in their plans.

Their next object was to divert the funds of the M. U. to that object. It was represented that the Trustees and Faculty of M. U. were quarrelling amongst themselves, that two of the Professors<sup>43</sup> had left the institution and that at the last meeting, the board of trustees had come within one vote of removing Dr. Bishop himself, founding their claims on the present distracted state of the institution, and on the strong efforts intended to be made all over the state it was thought little doubt existed in their being able to accomplish their object. Efforts are now making by writing secretly to members of the next legislature all over the state and other influential persons in order to enlist them in favor of this project: at the head of this Dr. Drake<sup>44</sup> is believed to be one of the principals.

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<sup>43</sup> These were Albert T. Bledsoe and William H. McGuffey. The former was born in Kentucky and graduated from West Point Military Academy in 1830, serving in the army until 1832. He was an instructor in Kenyon College 1832-35 and Professor of Mathematics in Miami University 1835-36. He then studied law, which he practiced at Springfield, Illinois, 1840-48. He was Professor of Mathematics and Astronomy in the University of Mississippi 1848-54 and Professor of Mathematics in the University of Virginia 1854-63. He represented the Confederate Government as Commissioner to England to solicit the assistance of that country. Minister of the Protestant Episcopal Church 1866-68 and of the Methodist Episcopal Church 1871-77. Cf. Records of West Point Military Academy.

William H. McGuffey was born in Washington County, Pennsylvania, September 23, 1800, graduated from Washington College in 1826. Professor of Latin, Greek and Hebrew, Miami University, 1826-32. Ordained to the ministry by the Presbytery of Oxford 1832. Professor of Mental Philosophy, Philology and General Criticism, Miami University 1832-36. President of Cincinnati College 1836-39. President of Ohio University 1839-43. Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy, University of Virginia, 1845-73. Author of McGuffey's Readers. Died May 4, 1873. Cf. Alumni Catalogue of Miami University (1892), p. xvii; Records of Board of Trustees of M. U. Vol. I.—Ed.

<sup>44</sup> Daniel Drake (1785-1852) was born in Kentucky and came to Cincinnati in 1800. He began the practice of medicine in 1804, afterwards studying at Pennsylvania University, from which he received the degree of M. D. in 1816. He and others founded the Medical College of Ohio in 1818. In 1831 he organized the Medical Department of Miami University, which was soon consolidated with the Medical College of Ohio. In 1835





My informant told me that he considered it his duty to give information to some of those, who had the interest of the M. U. at heart, of the contemplated measure and secret movements now in operation, that those favorable to the prosperity of the M. U. might be apprised of the movements and prepared for the occasion, to meet them on the threshold of their enterprise; they rely much on what they are endeavoring to make the public believe,—the present distracted state of the institution at Oxford.

The gentleman to whom the Professorship was offered, however, in accordance with the advice of his friends did not accept of the appointment.

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he founded the Medical Department of Cincinnati College. Cf. Fords, History of Cincinnati, pp. 296-8.—Ed.

The year 1841 saw Cincinnati College, to the establishment and fostering of which the ablest citizens of Cincinnati had for more than a quarter of a century devoted their energies and means, and to the assistance of which they had sought to divert the income from the College Township, with its doors closed and its activities ceased. The same year was marked by the termination of Dr. Bishop's Presidency at Miami. What of the Institution of which Dr. Drake had said in his "Picture of Cincinnati and the Miami Country" (1815), "That it will attain to the rank of a second rate college, in the course of the present century, where it is now fixed, no well informed person has the courage to predict." The College Township had been transformed into a thriving farming community, yielding an annual income to the University of about \$5500, "the largest permanent income of any college in America." The unpretentious "schoolhouse" first erected on the campus had given place to four permanent brick structures, three of which still render excellent service. The "Select School" had evolved into a real college with a faculty of six full professors, several of whom were men of national reputation, and a student body of one hundred and sixty-four young men drawn from ten different states. From her walls had gone forth three hundred and two graduates, of whom one hundred and eleven entered the ministry and ninety-three studied law. Forty sought to further the cause of education, either as principals of academies or as professors in colleges, seven rising to the position of college presidents. Twenty-three served in their state legislature, five sat in the gubernatorial chair, thirteen were elected to seats in Congress, and five rose to the rank of general in the army. Five were sent by the church as missionaries to heathen lands, while four were sent by our Government on missions to foreign countries. With such a product, is it surprising that Miami University was speedily recognized as entitled to a place in the front rank of the educational institutions of our country? Even a Cincinnati writer, while lamenting the failure of local efforts to establish a successful college, could say of her, "It is gratifying that our citizens who have sons to educate, can avail themselves of the advantages of Miami University, which is located in the vicinity of our city." Cf. Drake and Mansfield, Cincinnati in 1826, pp. 41, 42.—Ed.



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Arranged and Edited by

ISAAC JOSLIN COX,

Assistant Professor of History, University of Cincinnati.

CINCINNATI, OHIO  
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# Selections from the Torrence Papers, V.

THE TRANSFER OF LOUISIANA AND THE BURR  
CONSPIRACY, AS ILLUSTRATED BY THE  
FINDLAY LETTERS

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## FOREWORD.

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As indicated by the sub-title given above, the following letters relate to two main subjects—the Louisiana Purchase and the Burr Conspiracy. Far too much has been written about these momentous events to expect any new or startling information from this present publication, but there are a few personal descriptions of the chief actors, their motives, and of contemporary interpretation of the same that may justify its issue, and it is hoped that Lewis, Wilkinson, Pike, Claiborne, Burr, and Smith may thereby become better known, if not more cordially appreciated. The editor regrets that he cannot add to the number of letters the testimony of Judge Timothy Kibby concerning the relations of Wilkinson and Burr to Pike, as contained in the *Gano Papers*, III, 49, but the essential portion of this appears in the *American Historical Review*, XIII, 801, 802. It would also be interesting to include several letters relating to Pike from *Tract Thirty-Nine* of the Western Reserve Historical Society, which he was courteously given permission to use, but lack of space forbids more than casual mention of them in the foot-notes.

In the preparation of the copy and the proof the editor wishes to acknowledge the assistance of Miss Hamlin, the librarian.

I. J. C.





I.

JAMES WILKINSON TO WILLIAM WINSTON.<sup>1</sup>

[Box 28. No. 66.]

(Private)

Headquarters Greeneville.

April 22nd, 1796.

Dear Major

Mr. McDermott follows your Stores, and leaves his own behind. I have detained him, or rather suffered Him to continue here until I could receive something respecting our fate.—The last post brought me the Report of the Committee<sup>2</sup> of which your Cornet has a Copy. Josiah Parker (a Hell Cat) writes me that this report will go down, yet I think it doubtful—to leave out the Major General, after his victories and his treaties, would appear illiberal and will I am persuaded be opposed. It is my wish, that one or the other of us may be left out, and as I am truly sick of the service I would not give five guineas for the choice.

The representative House are squabbling with the president respecting the British Treaty. Every man from the ancient dominion is against Him; papers have been asked for, which the president refuses to give up; there the Business was by the last

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<sup>1</sup>William Winston, a native of Virginia, had served in the Revolution under "Light Horse Harry" Lee and was appointed lieutenant in the dragoons March 14, 1792, became captain two months later, major in 1793, and received his honorable discharge upon the reduction of the army in November, 1796. Evidently he and Wilkinson were intimate friends if we may judge from the following excerpt from a later letter (Box 28, No. 72): "I [Wilkinson] will dine with you the Day after tomorrow at 4 o'clock, in *confidence* that *you* will not again *debauch* me."

<sup>2</sup>He refers to the report of the House Committee on Military Affairs [See *Annals of 4th Congress, 1st Session*, 801, 905.] By the law as finally enacted [Hildreth, *History of the United States of America*, I, 628] the army was reduced to 2,800 men, to be commanded by a major general and a brigadier general, so both Wayne and Wilkinson were retained. Upon Wayne's death, in 1797, the major generalship was abolished and the command devolved upon Wilkinson. Further light is thrown upon the relations between the two generals by a later letter from Wilkinson to Winston [Box 28, No. 72], dated June 30, 1796, in which he states "Genl. Wayne is approaching—I know not by what Route—by the Dispatch re-



accounts—the Representatives refusing to go into a consideration of his message of refusal, and to assert the principles of their own action.<sup>3</sup> Where the thing will end I know not. God forbid we should experience anything like a schism in our Government, at the present critical conjuncture. My Mad River speculation has turned out important to me. I could have 20,000 Dollars for my bargain. The people are Land mad,<sup>4</sup> and I am determined the moment Honor may permit, to fix upon my own Ground in Kentucky. Adieu, remember me to Capt[ain] Webb,<sup>5</sup> and poor Jones.<sup>6</sup> Pope has I hope by this recovered his Senses. He is a sad indiscreet young man, and a little ungrateful.

## II.

W. McCLUNEY TO SMITH & FINDLAY.

[Box 16, No. 33.]

Lexington Sept. 4th. 1798.

Gentlemen

.....

A few minutes ago I arrived from a d——d fatiguing journey from Natchez. Finding that a great many of our Monogahala lads were at New Orleans lying sick and no sale for their *Truck*,<sup>7</sup>

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ceived here, I am made Independent of our Chief, and as soon as he arrives, the President has given me leave of absence without his consent—So I shall move Eastward and will next Winter look at the folks in Philad[elphi]a.”

<sup>3</sup>The debate is given in *Annals 4th Congress*, 1st Session, pp. 424-783. For a synopsis consult McMaster *History of the People of the United States*, II, 266-281. The resolution to enact the laws necessary to carry the treaty into effect passed on April 30 by a vote of 51 to 48.

<sup>4</sup>For the development of settlement in the vicinity of Dayton at this period see the article by F. P. Goodwin on “The Development of the Miami Country” in the *Quarterly of the Archaeological and Historical Society of Ohio*, XVII, 484.

<sup>5</sup>John Webb, Jr., of Virginia, who was serving with Winston in the dragoons and also received his discharge in the following November. Cf. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*, 1789-1889, I, 1011.

<sup>6</sup>Abraham Jones. He resigned October 1, 1796. Cf. Heitman, I, 579. For Pope see Note 10.

<sup>7</sup>New Orleans had been regularly opened but a few months to the river trade under the Treaty of 1795 with Spain.



I accepted of Eleven and twelve dollars a bbl. for mine, got sick and lay near three weeks, Started in a fever and in four weeks am arrived here.

There is very little news astir at Natchez. The officers were generally well, and a great many of the soldiers sick—so it is at Mr. Ellicots<sup>8</sup> camp. By the death of Capt[ain] Peirce<sup>9</sup>—crazy Pope<sup>10</sup> is a Capt[ain]. The Gov[ernor]<sup>11</sup> had not arrived but was hourly expected. The Gen[era]<sup>12</sup> [is] at Massack and

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<sup>8</sup>Andrew Ellicott was the Commissioner of the United States to officiate in running the southern boundary with Spain. He had been appointed in 1798 and had reached Natchez Feb. 24, 1797. After the Spanish authorities had detained him here for fourteen months they had at last withdrawn their garrison from the Natchez district and were finally ready to begin the actual work of surveying the boundary. During the delay Ellicott had served the interest of the United States in a sort of semi-official diplomatic capacity, and his correspondence with the State department, collected in a manuscript volume entitled, *Southern Boundary, Andrew Ellicott Papers* [Cf. *Guide to the Archives . . . in Washington*, p. 24], throws much light upon conditions then existing along the lower Mississippi. Portions of these papers are printed in the *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, II, and in *The Journal of Andrew Ellicott . . . Phila., 1803*. One of the most important, relating to the treasonable course of Wilkinson, can not now be found in the archives of the State Department.

<sup>9</sup>John Peirce, a native of Massachusetts. He served in the Revolution and re-entered the army in 1786, and when he died, July 24, 1798, was serving in the artificers and engineers. Cf. Heitman, I, 781.

<sup>10</sup>Percy Smith Pope of Virginia had been in the service since 1792. He played a conspicuous part in the occupation of the Natchez district by the American forces, much to the disgust of Ellicott. He died July 12, 1799. Cf. Heitman, I, 798, and *Ellicott Journal*.

<sup>11</sup>Winthrop Sargent of Massachusetts had served as Secretary of the Northwest Territory and in 1798 was appointed as first governor of Mississippi Territory, William Henry Harrison succeeding him temporarily in the former post. He arrived at Natchez, August 6. By the following year a traveler reported of him [Box 3, No. 20]: "I find the Governor is as unpopular here as in Cincinnati. The report in circulation in your country of his lady and him having fought and parted I find to be false nor have I heard since my arrival that they quarreled." Cf. *Mississippi Statistical and Official Register*, p. 20, and *Miss. Territorial Archives, Vol. I*.

<sup>12</sup>Wilkinson, who by reason of the death of Wayne was now in command of the army.



Col[onel] Hamtrammock<sup>13</sup> commands at Walnut Hills and Guion<sup>14</sup> continues to reign at Natchez.

At Natchez I saw L[ieutenant] Steel<sup>15</sup> who had come from the hills for his health. He put ten dollars into my hands to pay to you to discharge a certain verbal order; be pleased to call on Mr. Yeatman<sup>16</sup> who will pay you that sum on my acc[oun]t. . . .

### III.

JAMES FINDLAY TO MERIWETHER LEWIS.

[Box 6, No. 29.]

Cincinnati 7th March 1803.

My dear friend

.....The waters have been unusually high, our mail very irregular, [and] we have not heard from your City for a long time: Therefore [we] do not know what Congress have done. The shutting of the port of Orleans is the whole subject of conversation,<sup>17</sup> from the oldest citizen to the shoe-

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<sup>13</sup>John Francis Hamtramck was born in Canada, but served during the Revolution from New York. He re-entered the service in 1785, and at this time was lieutenant-colonel of the first regiment of infantry. He died April 11, 1803. Cf. Heitman, I, 496, and Coues, *The Expeditions of Zebulon Montgomery Pike*, I, XXVI.

<sup>14</sup>Isaac Guion of New York was also a Revolutionary veteran, who re-enlisted in 1792 and served under Wayne. He assisted the French settlers to locate in Gallipolis and also commanded the United States troops that took possession of the Spanish posts east of the Mississippi in 1797. Cf. *Quarterly*, II, 82; Belote, *The Scioto Speculation*, etc., p. 48; and *Miss. Statistical and Official Register*, 143.

<sup>15</sup>Probably John Steele of Pennsylvania, who in 1796 became a lieutenant in the Third Infantry. He died Nov. 8, 1800. Cf. Heitman, I.

<sup>16</sup>Possibly Griffin Yeatman, a native of Virginia, who kept a tavern on Front Street. Cf. Mansfield, *Personal Memories*, 155; Greve, *Hist. of Cincinnati*, I, 216.

<sup>17</sup>A quotation from a Natchez correspondent (perhaps John Smith) of the *Western Spy* of March 2, 1803, will serve as an example of western sentiment: "The reptile Spaniards act in a more hostile manner towards our citizens and commerce. . . . I trust 700,000 persons will not wait for Mr. Jefferson to go through all the forms, ceremonies and etiquette of the courts of Spain and Bonaparte, before they determine whether it will be best to drive the misercants from these waters or not." For general accounts cf. H. Adams, *History of the United States of America*, I, 421, 431; and McMaster, II, 622ff; and Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*.





black. You would be diverted to hear them talk on the subject. They suppose the Militia could take Orleans, and keep it against all the Troops that could be sent.<sup>18</sup> God forbid we should have to fight them about the free navigation of the river, which is our right by nature. But you have seen too much *service*. to believe that militia is equal to carry on a campaign at a distance of fifteen hundred miles, to any purpose, or for any length of time. Militia does very well if the enemy is at the door, but in my opinion never will answer to go far from home. I have never believed that either [the] french or spanish, would find it their interest to shut that port against us, admitting the[y] had the right or power, both of which I deny. I have no news to give you, the people are all in good health in this place. God bless you my dear friend.

#### IV.

Z. M. PIKE TO JAMES FINDLAY.

[Box 18, No. 79.]

Kaskaskias 11 March 1803

D[ea]r. Sir

Yours of the 2d Ulti[m]o came duly to hand; and shall be remembered by me with gratitude. You have Inclosed a Bill drawn by Col[one]l John Edgar on Daniel Vertner, Esq[ui]re in your favour for Seventy-five dollars and twenty five cents—the Amount of the Sugar receipt. I will inclose you the second and third at different periods unless you do previously acknowledge the receipt of the preceeding ones. What says the Legislature of the State of *Ohio*—are they for War with Spain?<sup>19</sup> If you are a member, be sure You vote for the measure, as I am in hopes it would add to the Numbers and respectability of the Members of our Profession. I know you are not an advocate for long letters, being brought up to business, the most concise

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<sup>18</sup>Despite this opinion and in spite of vigorous federalist resolutions by Ross of Pennsylvania the Jeffersonian majority passed a bill authorizing the President to call for a provisional army of 80,000 militia and to spend \$25,000 in building arsenals in the West. Cf. McMaster, II, 624. For the opinion of Senator John Smith see page 102.

<sup>19</sup>A cursory examination of the journals of the Senate and House of Representatives for the session then being held would seem to indicate that they *said* nothing.



method is your mode; but for me, whose theory in most things in this life has gone beyond my practice, it becomes natural to be, prolix on every subject, but for fear I should become tedious (after my respects to your Lady) I will haste to subscribe myself  
Yours sincerely,

V.

MERIWETHER LEWIS TO JAMES FINDLAY.

[Box 14, No. 49.]

Harper's Ferry State of Virginia  
March 26th, 1803.

Dear Findley, [sic]

The inclosed letter to Mr. John Conner is somewhat interesting to the Public, and is of much importance to myself; I therefore trust you will pardon the trouble I am about to give you relative to its safe conveyance. Will you be so good as to forward this letter under cover to Capt[ain] Hamilton at the big-spring, or any friend of yours at Fort Hamilton, with the request that they would forward it to Mr. Conner by a confidential Indian or other person: in that manner it would most probably reach him safely and in due time. Mr. Conner is an Indian Trader residing at one of the Delaware towns on White River; and is the same who visited the seat of government last winter in the capacity of an Interpreter to Long-beard a Miami Chief, and his party. Perhaps it would also be well to request your friend to desire Mr. Conner's agent or clerk at the Delaware town, in the event of his absence from that place, to employ a confidential Indian to take the letter to him wherever he may be: I am confident Conner would not hesitate to make ample compensation to such person for his trouble.<sup>20</sup>

My compliments to Mrs. Findley, and believe me

Your friend and ob[e]d[ien]t. Servt.

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<sup>20</sup>Lewis was then busy in arranging for the famous exploring expedition upon which his fame largely rests. He was anxious to secure Conner's services as interpreter for this expedition, and the enclosure which he mentions was evidently the letter in which he explained its real object and invited him to participate in the undertaking. Conner was unable to accept his offer. Cf. Cox, *The Early Exploration of Louisiana*, 19, 20.



## VI.

### JOHN SMITH TO JAMES FINDLAY.

[Box 21, No. 59.]

New Orleans the 13th April 1803.

Sir

You have no doubt received the account of the arrival of the French prefect at this place before now, and of the flattering professions which he makes to the Americans.<sup>21</sup> Sincerely do I wish that it may not be artfully designed to lull our Government into supineness, or divide the People by faction. The Spaniards and Americans almost to a man, are wishing with unceasing fervour, that the People of the United States would at this important crisis come down and take possession of this province.<sup>22</sup> News has arrived of the French army which was designed for this Port being called to St. Domingo. The People here are much more in favor of the Americans than they are of the French. They tremble at the French Tyranny and French contributions.<sup>23</sup> The Intendant refuses the Americans a place of Deposit. The French army I think will not be here for some months. Now the Americans have Just cause, now a favourable opportunity, to take possession of this Country, and then would be the time to open a negotiation for it, with an imperious Nation. No time

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<sup>21</sup>Laussat the Prefect bore a copy of the instructions that had been prepared for Victor, who had been selected for the captain-generalship of Louisiana but who never left Europe. A significant expression of these instructions runs as follows: "The arrival of the French forces should be marked there by the expression of sentiments of great benevolence for these new neighbors" [i. e., the Americans]. The general tone of the instructions gives point to Smith's scarcely-hazarded suspicion. Cf. H. Adams, II, 8-13.

<sup>22</sup>While on a visit to New Orleans four years before Andrew Ellicott [see note 8] had written the Secretary of State, Jan. 13, 1799: "I am convinced that the present government might be abolished by the materials within itself and that with but little risk to those who undertake it, and what contributes considerably to this weakness is the general opinion of the inhabitants that it will unquestionably before many years be annexed to us. The arrival of General Wilkinson has greatly strengthened this opinion." He went on to say that its continued possession by Spain would make it unnecessary for the United States to act, but the case would be otherwise should another power attempt to occupy it. Cf. also his *Journal*, p. 145.

<sup>23</sup>Even the Spanish minister at Washington preferred the Americans as neighbors to Victor's expected troops with appetites aroused for further conquests. Cf. *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, X, 73.



Sir, ought now to be lost. The Western Country has become an object of importance, by her Geographical, Commercial and political situation. The People ought by their rulers(?) to be called on to prepare for their own security. The Militia ought to be well trained and accommodated with arms etc., and to be ready to march at a moments warning. The Spaniards seem to express their astonishment at the stupid indifference of the United States. It is currently believed here that the Intendant by refusing us a place of deposit with such persevering obstinacy intends to furnis[h] America with a pretext to take this Country and that he has been instructed by the prime Minister of the Court of Madrid to that effect.<sup>24</sup>

It will be some weeks before I can set out for home. Capt[ain] Sterrett informs me that he will draw in a short time he expects on you, Sir, the Receiver of Public Monies at Cincinnati. When he does I shall try and remit with certainty to Yourself, Mr. Smith,<sup>25</sup> Mr. Baum<sup>26</sup> and others. I intend now it grows so hot to return by land.

N. B. If Congress have given the purchasers under Symmes any further time I will satisfy you well to sell any part of my claim for what you can get.<sup>27</sup>

N. B. If letters are published with you from this place the author's name must not appear.

## VII.

Z. M. PIKE TO JAMES FINDLAY.

[Box 18, No. 81.]

D[ea]r Sir

Kaskaskias 24 Oct. 1803.

Lieut[enant] Whitlock<sup>28</sup> informed me he had my note from you for collection. I am truly ashamed of the old story so fre-

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<sup>24</sup>For other views of the Intendant's course cf. *Tex. Hist. Quar.*, X, 71; Channing, *The Jeffersonian System*, 63; Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West*, IV, 269; H. Adams, I, 419.

<sup>25</sup>For James Smith, see *QUARTERLY*, IV, p. 14, Note 21.

<sup>26</sup>Martin Baum, the well-known merchant and capitalist. There is another reference to him on page 133.

<sup>27</sup>In 1803 Congress assumed the claim of the State of Ohio against Symmes and gave the State a township for a college. Cf. *QUARTERLY*, IV, 9, and Burnet's *Notes*, 427, 428.

<sup>28</sup>Ambrose Whitlock was a native of Virginia, who had enlisted in the First Infantry as sergeant in 1796, and at this time was a second lieutenant.





quently made use of by debtors that it is oute of their power, to meet the demand but never was there a truer assertion, than that, in the present case. I will only add as my apology that other clamies with my own immediate support; has dreen'd my purse to the very dregs.<sup>29</sup> And as the *Orlean Markets* are low the expected supply failed.<sup>30</sup> I was left less then my calculations had surmised by some Centimes. But if you will leave it with Whitlock it shall not remain any longer than it is in my power, (withoute absolute distress) to take it up. Why are not you a popular Man in our Sister State of Ohio—or has the counting of money for the United States engrossed so much of your time that you cannot attend to the Arts of Popularity.<sup>31</sup>

Mrs. Pike<sup>32</sup> joins me in respects to Mrs. Findlay and I remain Sir,

Yours respectfully,

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ant. He became a captain and served as deputy-paymaster-general before he left the service in 1816. For his later career see QUARTERLY II, p. 16.

<sup>29</sup>A letter written by Pike to Findlay August 24, 1800 (Box 18, No. 78) shows that he was short of funds on account of recruiting and unable to settle an account with Findlay. In a letter to his father dated October 12, 1801 (*Tract No. 39*, Western Reserve Historical Society) . . . "although I have, through my folly and extravagance in youth, forfeited, in a degree, my independence of situation . . . I will never be the slave of any man whilst he thinks that his authority is derived from pecuniary motives; but from gratitude he might expect great sacrifices." His letter of August 13, 1803, to Findlay (Box 18, No. 80) mentions his indebtedness to individuals in Cincinnati, but promised to divert part of his "stipend" to pay them. Apropos of his promise in the letter here printed, it is with satisfaction that one observes in a letter dated May 27, 1804 (Box 18, No. 82), "I have paid to Lt. Whitlock thirty dollars on % of my note in his hands," and that there is speedy promise of the payment of the balance after certain transactions with a "Mr. Buntin" are completed. One is tempted to surmise that Wilkinson's later hold on Pike may have some financial motive to support it.

<sup>30</sup>Possibly due to the expected transfer from Spain to France and then to the United States.

<sup>31</sup>Findlay had been a member of the Council of the Northwest Territory, but was not then a member of the legislative assembly of Ohio.

<sup>32</sup>In 1801 Pike married Clarissa, daughter of General John Brown of Kentucky. Cf. Coues, I, XXX.



# VIII.

THOMAS SANDFORD<sup>33</sup> TO JAMES FINDLAY.

[Box 20, No. 2]

City of Washington Oct. 27, 1803.

Dear Sir

.....  
Strong efforts in the Senate against the ratification of the conventions between France and the United States was made by the eastern members, but it was ratified by them on the evening of the 20th Ins[tan]t<sup>34</sup> 24 to 7. The house of representatives commenced their opposition to taking measures for carrying the treaties into effect on the score of no constitutional provisions for the admission of new territories into the Union, and a destruction of the eastern commerce, and warm animated debates was in our house on this subject.<sup>35</sup> On the question for taking measures to carry into effect the treaty and convention with France Ninety rose in favor and twenty-five against the measure. This decision settles an opposition, and we are now deliberating on a bill from the senate for enabling the President of the United States to take measures for the possession and temporary government of the Louisiana country—which I presume we shall pass in due time.<sup>36</sup>

We are also endeavouring to agree on some plan for effecting a change in the constitution of the United States, so far as relates to the election of President and V[ice] President, intending a designation at all subsequent elections for those officers. Various are the opinions on this subject and I know not whether both houses will be able to agree on any plan for effecting this purpose<sup>37</sup>.....

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<sup>33</sup>Thomas Sandford was a member of the House of Representatives from Kentucky.

<sup>34</sup>McMaster (Vol. III, 3) gives the 19th instead of the 20th.

<sup>35</sup>Roger Griswold of Connecticut led the House opposition to the Louisiana Convention and was actively supported by Gaylord Griswold of New York. John Randolph was the chief spokesman for the administration. Seventeen out of the twenty-five votes in opposition came from New England. Cf. McMaster, III, 6; H. Adams, II, 96-104.

<sup>36</sup>The House made some minor changes in the Senate bill, which the latter, after conference, accepted. The President approved the bill, October 31. Cf. McMaster, III, 9, 10.

<sup>37</sup>In the debate on this subject more was said about States' rights than about the need for the proposed amendment. R. Griswold again appeared in opposition, but it was adopted by the usual party vote. Cf. McMaster, III, 183-187; H. Adams, II, 131.



## IX.

JOHN SMITH TO JAMES FINDLAY.

[Box 21, No. 62.]

Washington Jan. 6th, 1804.

My dear Findley

Scarcely anything has been done yet in Congress for the western country since the ratification of the Treaty—except the appointment of Committees to put the western business in train.<sup>38</sup> A bill, has been reported to the Senate by a Select Committee for the Government of the Ceded Territories.<sup>39</sup> Louisiana, in this bill, is proposed to be divided into two Governments. But it is not possible for me to tell you what kind of Government they will have, as there is such a diversity of opinion on the Subject.

.....

## X.

JAMES FINDLAY TO THOMAS WORTHINGTON.<sup>40</sup>

[Box 6, No. 34.]

Cincinnati 9th Jany 1804

The Hon[ora]ble Tho[ma]s Worthington

Sir

.....

I expect before this time we have the peaceable possession of Orleans, now one thing more, and we may be as wealthy as we

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<sup>38</sup>The "Western business" referred to was probably the division of Indiana Territory and a measure for altering the method of selling public lands. Worthington of Ohio was a prominent member of the committees to consider these questions. Cf. *Annals, 8th Congress, 1st Session*, 29, 124, 222, 1675.

<sup>39</sup>This committee consisted of Breckenridge of Kentucky, Jackson and Baldwin of Georgia, and J. Q. Adams. Cf. H. Adams III, 120. The bill is summarized in McMaster, III, 23-26. Although Breckenridge was the chairman of the committee, Madison and Jefferson probably framed it. In form it followed that signed for the first stage of territorial government, but this was intended for a scarcely populated country, while the lower portion of the Louisiana Purchase was fairly populous.

<sup>40</sup>Then serving as senator from Ohio. A correspondent of this period warns Findlay against Worthington [Box 21, No. 4].



are free, that is making the falls of Ohio navigable at low water. This appears to me to be worthy the attention of the national Legislature, and [I] have no doubt if you would exert yourself and get all the western delegation interested in the subject you might accomplish that desirable object. I am convinced it would be opposed by the eastern Members, and they would urge as a reason, the expense already incurred in favor of the western people. Nevertheless you might succeed, as it would be a great advantage to a large portion of the Citizens of United States, with a small expense.<sup>41</sup>

I am very respectfully .....

# XI.

JOHN SMITH TO JAMES FINDLAY.

[Box 21, No. 64.]

Washington Jan. 27—1804.

Dear Findley .....

This Day we celebrate the purchase and possession of Louisiana in Joyful festivity.<sup>42</sup> Of this you will know hereafter. Both houses have agreed to the establishment of a Port of entry at Natchez.

The Senate by a large Majority have expressed their disapprobation of the importation of foreign Negroes into Louisiana. The debate on that subject continued for 3 days.<sup>43</sup> .....

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<sup>41</sup>Cf. McMaster, II, 152; III, 475, 478. *The Annals of Congress*, No. 9, 10, p. 1401, show that the Senate was then in favor of appropriations for making this desirable improvement, but that the House refused to concur. The subject was not seriously considered until after 1817. Cf. Burnet, *Notes*, 401ff.

<sup>42</sup>Possession had actually been taken by Claiborne and Wilkinson on December 20th, 1803. A month later the Spanish government formally withdrew its opposition to the transfer. Cf. H. Adams, II, 277.

<sup>43</sup>For this debate, which also touched upon the action of South Carolina in reopening the slave trade, cf. Hildreth, II, 499ff; Channing, *Jeffersonian Democracy*, 83, 84; H. Adams, II, 122.





## XII.

JONATHAN S. FINDLAY<sup>44</sup> TO MRS. JANE FINDLAY.  
[Box 8, No. 15.]

On the Ohio River 6 miles above Wab[ash]  
Sept. 13th 1805.

Dear Sister,

I should have written you long ere this but that I had nothing worth your notice to communicate, and have had a good deal of writing to do on the business of the contract, which has employed most of my leisure moments. Of these I have not many, for the attention necessary to be paid to the boat, engrosses most of my time. It is fortunate for me that I am kept pretty constantly employed, or I should certainly fall a prey to Ennui.

Between low water and head winds I have had a tedious time of it. Indeed from the little progress I have made, I am afraid Mr. Smith will think I have been very inattentive or very indolent. It will however, should he draw it, be an incorrect conclusion; for I never was half so industrious or attentive to business in my life and every exertion is used to get forward. But the water is very low, and abounds in sand bars, on which we get fast very often, no[r] can all our vigilance elude them. I am much in the water—last Monday night, I was out all night and until 12 the next day, and more or less every day. Heretofore I have experienced no inconvenience from it, being always careful to put on dry clothes as soon as I come out, and take a dose of bark. I sleep warm and dry and have no doubt but my health, with the care I shall take to preserve it, will continue unimpaired.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>44</sup>A younger brother of James Findlay, whose career was a most varied one. Cf. *QUARTERLY*, I, 66, 83, and the letters of the various members of the Findlay family. At this time he seems to be engaged in fulfilling a contract of Senator John Smith to supply the army posts along the Ohio and Mississippi.

<sup>45</sup>The manuscript journal of Dr. George Hunter of Philadelphia, the companion of William Dunbar in the early exploration of Louisiana and Arkansas, gives a vivid account of the difficulties of a journey down to Natchez during the preceding year. The original of this journal is in the library of the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia.



Fort Massac Sept 18.

I arrived here yesterday evening and have found it a mighty poor place. The commandant Lieutenant Heeld<sup>46</sup> and Surgeon, Dr. King, appear to be decent men, but the inhabitants are a poor miserable set of Indian traders, principally French, and have nothing. I am nearly out of provisions and cannot procure an ounce of anything except a poor hog. I would have died with spleen by this time, but that I met with Mrs. Chubbs who gave me an excellent cup of coffee this morning with a nice venison steak, some good fresh bread and butter etc. This was quite refreshing and agreeable, after being three weeks confined to hard pilate [pilot] bread and fat bacon. She keeps a tavern here and a pretty good one too, her and Chubbs have separated. But perhaps you do not know her. The officers are to dine with me there today.

I am in a very bad writing mood today and have a great deal of business on hand, for I have found this port almost starving, and no means of procuring provisions by the first of October. I shall therefore conclude at present.

### XIII.

JONATHAN S. FINDLAY TO JAMES FINDLAY.

[Box 8, No. 16.]

Natchez, Nov. 24, 1805

Dear James,

You will be as much surprised at finding my letter dated at this place, as you must have been at my long silence, a silence that I can neither account for, nor offer anything in extenuation of. My detention arises solely from the want of money, which heretofore I have been unable to raise on any terms, except a few dollars that I borrowed to meet some casual expenses. A friend, who I have been able to make here has promised to accommodate me tomorrow with a small sum for a draft on Philadelphia, though he does not at present want it. I will immediately then set out to Orleans, though I am unable to meet my engagements with the commissaries above. Mr. Smith has not treated me well through the whole of this business. He started

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<sup>46</sup>For Nathan Heald, cf. Heitman, I, 578, and for Dr. King, *Ibid*, I, 600. The latter was a surgeon's mate, who died in 1807.



me with but 40 dollars in cash and some whiskey to visit and make arrangements for the supply of posts that I found almost literally starving. It is true I had the power of drawing, but of what use could this be at posts where there was no money and that had no mercantile connexion with either Cinc[innat]i or Phil[adelphi]a. At Massac I made Dr. King so much my friend, that he advanced me 50 dollars all the money [he] had, on a draft, which gave the commissary a start, and he agreed to purchase on my assuring him that funds or supplies would soon be placed in his hands. Whether Mr. Smith has done this I know not. At the Bluff,<sup>47</sup> there was not a dollar, or an ounce of meat. I had to buy a beef to Issue the day after my arrival. On my own credit I procured a person to furnish the garrison until I could transmit him money from this place, which I am now unable to procure. At Arkansas I left whiskey, which was dull sale; but the commissary promised to furnish beef on his own credit until it would rise, and the articles that were left from the late contract I purchased from the agent by giving him my note payable in Orleans at 30 days. In consequence of my detention here, my word has been again forfeited. Notwithstanding these difficulties and embarrassments I have had to contend with, and notwithstanding the tedious, fatiguing, disagreeable trip I had down the river, in consequence of low water, head winds, sick hands, etc. etc. on my arrival here I found letters from Mr. Smith very ungraciously telling me he had no further use for me; not indeed absolutely, but leaving me rather at a loss to know what he intended. They were in that stile of equivocation and finesse that form his strongest characteristics, but the conclusion seems to be that he does not think my services necessary, but that I must judge for myself, and then that I must be governed by Messrs. Mecker, Williamson & Patton. As these gentlemen wish to see me in Orleans I will go, for though I have been treated very contemptuously I do not think it any apology for the breach of a reposed confidence. Indeed I am almost obliged to go to Orleans for here I cannot procure money to buy a horse or bear my expenses home. The private business which was the most agreeable business to me, and where I expected to gain some credit, he has taken from me entirely, and I am cut off from seeing the Nachetoches [Nachitoches], Appelousas [Opelousas]

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<sup>47</sup>Chickasaw Bluff, the site of modern Memphis.



and Attakapa[s] countries, which had no small weight in determining me to undertake the trip. I cannot help thinking that Mr. Smith intended this proceeding from the first, and when he appeared so very generous and liberal to me in the commencement of this business, he had in view the obtainment of some important accommodation from you. I have let him know my displeasure, and if I ever live to see Cin[cinn]a[ti] he shall hear it in stronger terms.<sup>48</sup>

I have spent a good deal of time with Mr. Tho[mas] H. [Williams]<sup>49</sup> and the Gov[ernor] at Washington. Our friend is as much the old thing as his warmest admirers can desire. He never wearies in speaking of Cincinnati. I rode out a few days ago to inform him of . . . . . marriage, which I had just learned.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>48</sup>In a letter to James Findlay (Box 21, No. 72), written after receiving this, John Smith explains that his communication to Jonathan S. Findlay was not meant for an abrupt dismissal and was intended to convey no lack of confidence in him.

<sup>49</sup>Thomas H. Williams was a native of New York and had served in the Indian wars in the Northwest Territory. In a letter of May 4, 1805, written by R. Claiborne, postmaster of Washington, Mississippi Territory, to James Findlay (Box 4, No. 46), the writer states: "P. S. The fact is that Thomas H. is that clever industrious fellow, if the Board of Commissioners had had his services before now, the land business would have been about finishing by this time; but now it will be many months first; I hope he has told you that he is Register and ex-officio Commissioner—by which I will say his talents will be brought into public notice—and if he should chuse it, I am sure he will never want public service or a public appointment again. It is such men that governments want. Tom ought to be married, but I fear his modesty will ruin him." While holding the position of Secretary of Mississippi Territory, as mentioned later in this letter, he was in 1809 for four months acting governor. In 1817 he was elected as one of the senators from the new state of Mississippi and served for twelve years. For a letter written during this period, see *QUARTERLY*, II, 8. A few letters describing his personal affairs and expressing his appreciation of attentions shown him by the Findlays while in Cincinnati are found in the Torrence Collection, Box 29.

<sup>50</sup>With reference to this affair R. Claiborne writes to Findlay, in the letter mentioned in the preceding note: "If Thomas H— gets clear I'll be d—d. He just put the inclosed letter into my hand—taking care to seal it up first, and would not impart a sentence of its contents.

"I'll tell the truth upon him. If he is not in love with some fair one in Cincinnati I never fell in love with my partner at a game of whist." The rest of the letter seems to refer to a sentiment that Claiborne seems to entertain for another Cincinnati lady.





There was a ball that evening in Washington. He detained me to go to it, and I did not communicate my intelligence until the next morning, lest it might interrupt his enjoyment of the evening, and from the effect it produced on him I had no reason to be sorry for my caution. He was seriously affected and did not recover his spirits during the time I stayed—a day and a half. He had been making arrangements to go through with me, but I know not now that he will persevere in this resolution. Though he has now 800\$ per annum as secretary of the Territory, 3 dollars per day as commissioner, and his fees as register of the land office worth, all together from three to four thousand dollars per annum, he tells me he lays up no money. I cannot account for this. I know he bestows a great deal to benevolent purposes, but the costliness of his wardrobe does not run away with much of it.

From Abijah Hunt<sup>51</sup> I have experienced not only much politeness, but a uniform disposition to serve me, and unabating evidences of a sincere friendship and the most generous and delicate offers to serve me. Major Claiborne<sup>52</sup> did not acquit himself so handsomely. He knew I was in town for several days without coming to see me. We met by accident. It was with some difficulty he thought by G—— he ought to recollect me—formally said he would be pleased to see me, which I answered as coldly by saying I did not know that it would be convenient. The thing passed on so for two weeks. Seamour asked me why I did not go to Claibourne's, that he expected me. I told S—— that he had no right to expect me—that I was entitled not only from his intimacy with you, but from our own acquaintance, to a decent degree of attention from the Major, and that [I] never would go to his house until particularly invited. Seamour told him, improperly, what I said as I afterwards discovered. In a

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<sup>51</sup>The name of Abijah Hunt appears among the first directors of the Bank of Mississippi, established at Natchez in December, 1809. / Cf. *Miss. Stat. and Offl. Register*, 175.

<sup>52</sup>Ferdinand L. Claiborne then held the rank of major in the militia of Mississippi Territory and served in that capacity during the Burr episode. His brother W. C. C. Claiborne was the governor of Orleans Territory (later the State of Louisiana). He had served in the Indian Wars of the Northwest and during the War of 1812 rose to the rank of Brigadier-General of Volunteers. Cf. *Mississippi Statistical and Official Register*, 388-392; Heitman, I, 302.



few evenings there was a ball at my boarding house. The Major was very attentive—introduced me to a number of Gentlemen I had not seen, gave me a warm invitation to dinner next day. I went. He introduced me to Mrs. Claiborne with a flattering compliment[,] treated me with a marked attention at dinner, and gave me a general invitation to make as frequent calls at his house as possible at all times. The truth is that he found that I was paid a good deal of attention to by the most respectable people here; and as the affair had through Seamour taken wind, he supposed he would lose by neglect, and that it would be as well to heal the breach; for since I have learned that but a few days before this profusion of politeness, he enquired of a gentleman who this young Findlay was that was about town. If I had knew this I would never have went [sic] to his house; but have met his advances with a repulse he would have little expected. It is now I suppose as well to let it pass.

I have been solicited to settle in this country by a number of gentlemen with such earnestness as to have little doubt of their sincerity, and advantages have been pointed out that are alluring. The bar appears here to be a certain road to wealth even for the weakest, and there is but little talents to contend against. Indeed if I had any confidence in my own industry and perseverance I would not for a moment doubt that in a few years, I would make a handsome sum. I have no room to doubt of executive patronage was I to ask [for] it. I have been fortunate enough to impress the governor<sup>53</sup> very favorably towards me. It has been indirectly hinted, that I might possibly obtain the registership, which the present incumbent intends resigning in the Spring.<sup>54</sup> If I could once get a fair start in this country, I flatter myself that I would do well, especially with the powerful

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<sup>53</sup>Robert Williams of North Carolina had recently been appointed to this place. On April 4, 1805, R. Claiborne wrote to James Findlay (Box 4, No. 46): "Robert Williams one of the Commissioners here is appointed Governor of the Mississippi Territory, and if he accepts I have no doubt things will go on right. He has talents and merits—and all that is necessary is, for political parties to let him alone." This, however, is precisely what did not happen. Cf. *Miss. Statistical and Official Register*, 3, 22.

<sup>54</sup>Thomas H. Williams did not resign, so this opening did not occur. Williams wrote to James Findlay Dec. 30, 1808 (Box 29, No. 11), speaking of the laboriousness of the work in the land office and of his wish to obtain a young man as assistant. Cf. *Miss. Statistl. and Offl. Register*, 6.



motive of wife to stimulate me to exertion. But I must confess that the past presents no flattering presage of the future.

Your letter to Captain Bowyer,<sup>55</sup> I have forwarded to A[O]p-pelousas, where he is stationed, accompanied by one from myself. Capt. Swain<sup>56</sup> is stationed at Fort Stoddard where I may possibly go. Jones<sup>57</sup> is selling tavern at Fort Adams, where I will see him in a few days, and Sterrett<sup>58</sup> is in Orleans, doing business with Clay. Dunwoody is gone to Orleans, and has money it is said. Ogden<sup>59</sup> is an object of charity—his debt is lost. Melston lives about ten miles in the country and is doing well. I have seen him, and made a demand of [for] your money—he said he owed you and was able and willing to pay it—that he would be in town in few days, and would pay me. He however did not call on me; but told Mr. Henderson, through whom the money was to come, that he had a receipt in full. As I have no specification to support the claim, I cannot compel the payment. You had better forward it to some of your friends here, and the money will be recovered.

I have not seen Sargent<sup>60</sup> or Guion. Scott<sup>61</sup> (now Col[one]l Scott) I dined with. Old Judge Rodney<sup>62</sup> who tells me [he] took

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<sup>55</sup>John Bowyer of Virginia entered the military service in 1792 and at this time was in the second infantry. He became a colonel during the War of 1812. His position as major, commanding the troops at Ft. Stoddard, at the outbreak of this struggle, gave him some prominence in the frontier history of this section. Cf. Heitman, I, 235; *Miss. Stat. and Offl. Register*, 390.

<sup>56</sup>Thomas Swaine, who had served in the sub-legion under Wayne and at this time was connected with the second infantry. He died October 8, 1808. Cf. Heitman, I, 938.

<sup>57</sup>Possibly the same one referred to in note 6. Ellicott may refer to him in his *Journal*, 164.

<sup>58</sup>James Sterrett of Pennsylvania had resigned from the army September 20, 1805; the reference may possibly be to him. Cf. Heitman, I, 921. See also *supra*, p. 102.

<sup>59</sup>Possibly Aaron Ogden. Cf. Heitman, I, 757.

<sup>60</sup>For Sargent see Note 11. He was then living upon his estate—Gloucester—near Natchez. Cf. *Miss. Stat. and Offl. Register*, 3, 20. Cf. Note 14, also Box 16, No. 33. For Guion see Note 14.

<sup>61</sup>William Scott of Maryland (?). Cf. Heitman, I, 870.

<sup>62</sup>Thomas Rodney of Delaware was appointed one of the judges of Mississippi Territory, July 12, 1803, and also served as one of the land commissioners for the district west of the Pearl River. His brother, Cæsar A. Rodney of Delaware was one of Jefferson's supporters and



tea with you, was particular in his inquiries for yourself, Dr. Sellman and some others.

When I began this letter, I had but little intention of spinning it out to so unreasonable a length; but as matter presented itself I scribbled on until I think I have given your patience a pretty severe trial. I have now only to request you to remember me affectionately to my good uncle, beloved sister Jane, and to tender to yourself my assurance of brotherly attachment.

Excepting a single paroxism of fever and ague I have had perfect good health since my arrival here.

#### XIV.

#### JOHN SMITH TO JAMES FINDLAY.

[Box 21, No. 72.<sup>63</sup>]

City of Washington, Jany the 27 —06.

Dear General:

High toned measures are talked of. It is not in my power to inform you what ground will be taken in Congress.<sup>64</sup> Wright, Senator from M[arylan]d. has brought in a curious bill. It is a theme of Ridicule. I shall try and send you a copy of it.<sup>65</sup> Neither the English, Spanish, nor French Ministers seem countenanced by our Cabinet.<sup>66</sup> There is a good deal of ill temper

afterwards his attorney-general. Judge Thomas Rodney distinguished himself later, in the hearing of Burr at Washington, Miss. Territory, by his refusal to release Burr from his bond when the grand jury failed to bring an indictment against him. This caused Burr to flee and led to his later capture and the famous trial at Richmond. Cf. *Miss. Stat. and Offl. Register*, 3, 173, 174; McCaleb, *The Aaron Burr Conspiracy*, 274.

<sup>63</sup>See Note 48 for a reference to the unprinted part of this letter.

<sup>64</sup>For the bitter debate over the famous "Two-Million Act," which substituted the policy of buying a peace for the "high toned measures," cf. H. Adams, IV, 128, 137-139, and Hildreth, II, 568-570. The secret debates are found *Annals 9th Cong., 1st Session*, p. 1116-1144. Jefferson also sent a special message to Congress on the subject of our commercial relations with Great Britain, in which he transmitted some of Monroe's diplomatic correspondence under a pledge of secrecy. A proposal suggesting the later embargo policy formed part of the same "high toned measures." Cf. Hildreth, II, 573ff.; McMaster, III, 230.

<sup>65</sup>For the bill see *Annals 9th Cong., 1st Session*, p. 59ff.

<sup>66</sup>See H. Adams, III, 185, 195; and Hildreth, II, 571.





amongst us. Almost every day we hear of impressments, captures or condemnations. If the Belligerent Powers persist in these depredations War is inevitable.<sup>67</sup> Be pleased to present my respect to your Lady, Brother Nathan and Family. ....

.....

## XV.

JONATHAN S. FINDLAY TO JAMES FINDLAY.

[Box 8, No. 17.]

New Orleans, Feby 6th 1806

Brother James, ..... .

I have met a number of Gentlemen here who know you; but the only one from whom I have received any politeness on that account is Lieu[tenant]t Taylor,<sup>68</sup> whom you may recollect as a sergeant of the first reg[imen]t. He is grateful to you for favors shown him then, and has treated me with every attention in his power. He is adj[utan]t and military agent, and said to be the best officer in the army.

Your friend Lord Chesterfield is no great *chose*.<sup>69</sup> I handed a letter to him from Tho[mas] H. [Williams] and he made a mighty deal of fuss about his respect for you and all that kind of stuff but I have heard no more of him except when he waited on me as private sec[retar]y to ask me to dine with the governor. I am clear in it that you over rate the man in every point of view.

Governor Claiborne is not hated here but he is pitied and despised. All appear willing to allow him good motives but he has no firmness and is misled by every old woman's tale. I have no doubt but his talents are rated too high in the Atlantic States; besides he is running the race of popularity, and that will mislead any man. His person is the most justly formed I have ever seen but his address is awkward and embarrassing. It has that confident boldness which arises from an overweening vanity, and that stiffness which can only be avoided by an early acquaint-

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<sup>67</sup>See Adams, III, 143; and Hildreth, II, 573.

<sup>68</sup>A Lieutenant Taylor is mentioned in H. Adams, III, 303.

<sup>69</sup>This may be a reference to John Graham of Virginia, who was then serving under Governor Claiborne as secretary of the Territory of Orleans. He was active in circumventing Burr's supposed plans and later became assistant secretary of state.



ance with polished society.<sup>70</sup> He is just a neater edition of the major.<sup>71</sup> .....

## XVI.

CALEB SWAN<sup>72</sup> TO JAMES FINDLAY.

[Box 22, No. 50.]

Washington City March 1, 1806.

Dear Sir

.....  
We have nothing materially interesting here. I believe there will not be a Spanish war this time; but I apprehend there is something in embryo that may possibly lead to it eventually, unless it should be averted by some future, wise and energetic administration, on our part.<sup>73</sup> But as I have done forever with all political speculations, and animadversions I give myself very little trouble about them. I don't subscribe for a single newspaper in the United States, and feel indifferent whether or not, I read one if it falls in my way. ....

## XVII.

JOHN SMITH TO JACOB BURNET.

[Box 21, No. 75.]

Washington March 14, 1806.

My dear Friend

.....  
Write no more to me at this place till you see me. I intend sending you Randolphs inflammatory speeches.<sup>74</sup> They will amuse

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<sup>70</sup>A very similar criticism by Laussat is quoted in H. Adams, III, 298. For a decidedly uncomplimentary view, as given by Wilkinson to John Quincy Adams, see the latter's *Memoirs*. Of a similar character is an attack on Claiborne by Daniel Clarke, which appears in the *Kentucky Palladium* for March 24, 1808. Clarke speaks of the governor as a man "only calculated to cause confusion and wholly inadequate in powers."

<sup>71</sup>F. L. Claiborne. See Note 52.

<sup>72</sup>Caleb Swan of Massachusetts served during the Revolution and in 1792 became paymaster-general of the regular army, in which position he continued until 1808. His death occurred Nov. 20, 1809. Cf. Heitman, I, 938, and Box 22, Nos. 43-54.

<sup>73</sup>The prospect of hostilities with Spain was removed by the "Two Million Act." See Note 64 and H. Adams, IV, Ch. VI.

<sup>74</sup>John Randolph had already broken with the administration on the "Two Million Act" and likewise opposed its policy with regard to com-



you as specimens of wit, invective and declamation. They are destitute of both law and logic and even of decency. He has declared war against the administration, in order to bring Monroe into power.

Give my best respects to your Brother. I thank him for a Copy of the declaration. I hope I shall be at home before the trial, and have no doubt but I shall see Cone much puzzled in substantiating the facts which he states in it. I must beg you to write to Mr. Broadwell to call on [you] and give you a statement of the case. I shall send to him the Copy of Cones declaration and get him to collect the facts etc.<sup>75</sup>

## XVIII.

JEREMIAH MORROW<sup>76</sup> TO JAMES FINDLAY.

[Box 17, No. 56.]

Washington City Dec 24th 1806.

Sir

I hereby transmit the treasurer's receipt for the money you were so obledging as to lend me. I should have sent it when I first obtained it, but for the extreme irregularity of the mail.

A resolution has been referred to the committee on public lands having in view a reduction in the price of the reserved sections, and of offering them again at public sale. The committee have not yet made a decision but I presume they will report in favour of the proposition. The committee have directed a bill to be reported "providing for the sale of the public lands lying between the U. S. Military tract, and the connecticut reserve." A new office is to [be] established, a register and receiver to be appointed, etc.

Burr's expedition furnish[es] conversation for our leisure hours. Much, and important facts are ascertained, but still

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mercial restrictions against Great Britain. Cf. H. Adams, III, 137-139 and 157-164. He opposed Jefferson because of his underhand attempts to gain the Floridas, and Madison for his general nerveless conduct of our foreign affairs.

<sup>75</sup>These statements may refer to land claims in this section.

<sup>76</sup>The best biography of Jeremiah Morrow is that by his grandson, Mr. Josiah Morrow, printed in the *Old Northwest Genealogical Quarterly* for 1906. Morrow was interested in reducing the price of public lands.



more rests on conjecture. We see the means for effecting some project, not of ordinary magnitude, but the end is out of view. Before these reach you his operations may perhaps have dispelled the mystery, and pointed to the project in view.<sup>77</sup>

I have no accounts from our country as to the public sentiment respecting the above enterprise; I however have full confidence that nothing either seditious or treasonable can meet with the approbation of our people. It would be gratifying and useful at this momentous crisis to receive information, if for nothing else, to satisfy those who might call in question our political attachment.<sup>78</sup> Your most ob[edien]t.

## XIX.

JOHN BIGGER, JR.,<sup>79</sup> TO JAMES FINDLAY.

[Box 2, No. 27.]

Warren County 17th Jan. 1807.

Dear General:

Enclosed you have an accompt on John Clark, in favour of the estate of Co[lone]l. Parker, Dec[ease]d. sent me by your brother Jonathan for collection. I caled on Clark soon after receiving it, and he insisted that he had paid the debt before, he left Conococheague, but that he would call and have the thing fix'd either with you or your broather, the first time he should be in Cincinnati. The accompt was laid by, and its being in my possession had entirely escaped me untill the other day I accidentally found it among some other papers.

They mindes of people in this neighbourhood has been considerably agitated for some time past respecting Burr's conspiracy and as we live at a considerable distance from the scene of action, it is not to be expected that everything which *we heare* is Gospel; indeed it would be a happy circumstance if more than the half of it were found to be false. When I first learned the

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<sup>77</sup>The President's proclamation against the expedition had been issued November 27, 1806. See Adams, III, 285.

<sup>78</sup>For a view of the effect of the proclamation in the West see McCaleb, 199, where an editorial from the *Lexington Gazette* for December 19th is quoted. The West expressed its attachment to the Union in no uncertain terms. See McCaleb, 244.

<sup>79</sup>For John Bigger, cf. *History of Warren County*, 390.





existence of this infamous sceme, I confess that it struck me with no little surprise, but this surprise has since increased to a degree of uneasiness from reports current here of some charictors who are said to be implicated in this affair. And my principle object in writing to you at this time is, in hopes that you will as soon as convenient write me on this subject and as your situation affords you better oppertunetys then mine, of not only ascertaining facts, but of likewise discovering the channal through which they flow, [I] would hope that you will as far as you know and can do it consistently, state they grounds of implication with some of the suspected charictors, and as I write to you in confidence I shall take the liberty of mentioning some of they names who with several others are whispered through this neighbourhood to have connections with Burr. Those that I shall mention, are your Senator W[illia]m McFarland,<sup>80</sup> Mathew Nimmo<sup>81</sup> and John Smith our Senator in Congress, and there are certain other names who although they have been mentioned, yet from the respectability ot their charictors and the opinion which I have of their probity, I can pay no credit to the reports and should think it improper to mention their names even in confidence. Indeed I should fondly hope for the Honour of our State that those which I had mentioned would be ultimately found to be clear. Without however giving my opinion I shall mention a circumstance concerning one of them, which if taken by itself is of but little conciquence. But connected with other suspicious appearances may be considered to have some weight. The affair was this. Last winter while at Chillicothe there went a report for some time that one of our Senators in Congress purposed resigning his sate at which time Dr. Wood put a letter into my hand which he had received from W[illia]m McFarland recommending in case of a vacancy the appointment of Aaron Burr as a proper charictor for filing it, and who he stated as the best calculated to do honour to himself and justice

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<sup>80</sup>William McFarland was state senator from Hamilton County in the session of 1806-07, and from Jefferson and Columbiana counties in the following year. His residence in Hamilton County may have brought him into relations with Burr, Dayton and Smith in 1805. Cf. McCaleb, 25. For reference to McFarland see also J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, I, 503, and *Gano Papers*, III, 33ff.

<sup>81</sup>There is a reference to Matthew Nimmo, then serving as federal judge for Ohio, in J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, I, 496, and in *Gano Papers*, III, 39.



to the State. The thing then appeared to me even at that time, to display more zeal than wisdom, to recommend a man for an office who was by no means eligible, although I acknowledge that at that time I should have treated as chimerical any information concerning the iniquitous transactions of Burr and his party which their subsequent conduct has laid us under the necessity of beleaving, for I should have thought no set of men would ever have been so crazy—and what could tempt any men to such desperate measures against our Government the Lord only knows; A Government, where each of us may sit down, if not under our own vine and under our own Fig tree, yet besides well stored Barns and Corncribs and enjoy all they advantages from the protection of life and property, which can be expected from civil institutions on this side the Grave.

I wrote your Brother William some considerable time since for a statement of the situation in which things stand relative to Ridenowers bond left with him for collection, but have as yet received no answer.

The Governor's<sup>82</sup> address to the Assembly I have seen, offering himself a candidate for the Senate of the United States, and think they remarks which follow in the Spy papers extremely applicable.

I have been almost the hole of this winter confined at home, from a severe wound which I have received in my leg, I got it in a violent combat which I had—not in attempting like a Burr or a Bonaparte to subvert or annihilate Empires—But in the act of attempting to secure a wild and ferocious Hog. The fortune of War was against me, I got wounded, and although two months have elapsed I am not yet much more than able to crawl out of doors.

In addition to they points which I have Already requested information on, I would wish you to state as far as you know what has become of Burr himself. What Boats is supposed to have passed Cincinnati, belonging to his party—and whether there has any Boats been detained on suspicion at your town.<sup>83</sup> For these are points which almost every day brings us some new but un-

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<sup>82</sup> Edward Tiffin was then serving as governor and in 1807 succeeded Thomas Worthington as senator.

<sup>83</sup> For an account of the Burr expedition on the Ohio and orders to stop the expedition at Cincinnati, cf. McCaleb, 245, 256, and *Gano Papers*, III.



certain information concerning. I would likewise wish to know what is doing among you concerning our Colege Township, as I have heard nothing about it, only that petitions have been circulated for having it brought up another time before the Legislature which it is to be hoped is the last round without more money.

But finding my epistle has grown to an unpardonable length shall therefore close after subscribing myself with every sentiment of esteem, your old Neighbour and Best Well-wisher

When you write I would wish you to do it in a manner easier to be read than you do for common.

## XX.

JAMES FINDLAY TO DR. JOHN BENNETT.<sup>84</sup>

[Box 6, No. 42.]

Cincinnati, 27th Feb. 1807.

Sir

By a letter from the Hon[ora]ble John Smith dated the City of Washington, I am informed that it is *your* request I should transmit to you a circumstantial detail of the relation given by Pallas P. Stuart<sup>85</sup> touching certain matters to him disclosed. The following is respectfully communicated as the most correct statement with which my memory serves me.

Mr. Stuart informed me there were frequent applications made to him, by Colonel Burr, and by his agents, who made him liberal offers to join the enterprise, which offers he refused; and in the several conversations on the subject, he understood the first proposition to separate the Union came from the Marquis De Yranjo [Irujo];<sup>86</sup> that Burr seemingly appeared to accede to the proposition, and received an order from the Marquis for Thirteen Thousand Stand of Arms that were then at Pensacola. Last summer when crossing Lake Pontchartrane [Pontchartrain] (he Stuart) saw a Spanish vessel on which no American was permitted to enter, which he was told and believed contained the

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<sup>84</sup>Both external and internal evidence, together with a comparison with Box 6, No. 46, and Box 2, No. 27, support this designation.

<sup>85</sup>For Pallas P. Stuart see *Gano Papers*, III, 35ff.

<sup>86</sup>The Marquis of Casa Yrujo was the Spanish minister. For Burr's intrigues with him consult McCaleb, 54ff; and H. Adams, III, 261; and Rowland, *Third Annual Report* . . . , p. 168.



said arms, and which arms he has since been informed, have been deposited at Baton Rouge. He Stuart further understood the route Burr and his followers intended to take, was to descend either the Bayou Chafalgar [Achafalaya] or the Bayou Plackamines [Plaquemines] and coast it round to the neck end of St. Bernards Bay and ascend the river Bravo to Santafee.<sup>87</sup> That after they got possession of that country she would become a part of the United States if they would be received; if then [the] proposition was rejected the party who went would elect a convention and form a government of their own.

He Stuart further understood that Burr has had agents in the Spanish provinces for a length of time, and that Governor Heirrara [Herrera] was colleagued with him.<sup>88</sup> That there are a number of men of the first respectability, and some of them holding high offices in the United States concerned in this enterprise. He Stuart further understood that one hundred thousand dollars were raised at New Orleans and that the residue of funds were to be furnished from the cities of Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York.

The above relation was made to me about the middle of December last, which I communicated to Mr. Galliten [Gallatin] by the first mail thereafter. I know not whether he received that letter as it required no answer, and the subject not being connected with my official business kept no copy of that letter.

I have the honor to be with the highest consideration and respect, your most ob[edien]t Serv[an]t.

## XXI.

P. T. SCHENCK TO NATHAN C. FINDLAY.

[Box 20, No. 27.]

Dear Findlay

Natchez 23d March 1807.

I arrived here the 20th inst. after a passage of 27 days, mixed as is natural, with its different degrees of pleasure, fatigue and trouble, as varied as the country I have passed through.

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<sup>87</sup> These expressions reveal the lack of exact geographical knowledge concerning the country to which our government laid strenuous claim.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. McCaleb, 305. Lieutenant-Colonel Simon de Herrera, the governor of the Mexican province of Nuevo Leon, commanded the Spanish





The different changes of *feeling* have been almost as numerous as the windings of the Mississippi, and like a true emblem of that river, *they* have emptied into an *ocean* which when not disturbed by the winds. (of adversity) is calm and unruffled, but subject to the same turbulency (of mind) when opposed by storms and counter currents. Mr. Hait and myself left the boat we started in as we thought regular watches night and day, hard rowing, and finding our own provisions, and in short, doing the duty of hired hands, more than sufficient to counter-balance the room we took in the boat. We were at Fort Massac from the 4th to the 7th ins[an]t when Mr. Bechtle<sup>89</sup> overtook us and gave us a passage in his boat. This town is situated on such high ground and has so free a current of air that I cannot think it unhealthy. I was much disappointed in my idea of its size as I thought it much larger. It is not so large as Cin[cinnat]i. The Schooner Revenge, the Bomb Ketches, Etna and Vesuvius, and three Gun boats are lying at anchor before the town to catch *Burrites*. All boats are brought too and examined.<sup>90</sup> Before you receive this you will probably hear that Co[lone]l B[urr] is on his way to Washington and *honor'd* with a military escort.<sup>91</sup> He has many adherents here, and it is thought probable that some of his *friends* will liberate him before he reaches Washington. Colonels Tyler,<sup>92</sup> and Blennerhasset are here, and have given bail for trial at the May term.

Many of the young men who came with them, have become involved in debt at the Taverns, and having depended on

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troops on the Texas frontier during this crisis, and in that capacity had signed the "Neutral Ground Convention" with Wilkinson. See *Ibid*, 149, 150.

<sup>89</sup>John Bechtle of the later firm of Riddle, Bechtle, and Co., who were prominent in the barge navigation of the river. See *Quarterly of the Arch. & Histl. Society of Ohio*, XVI, 335.

<sup>90</sup>See *Third Annual Report of Miss. Department of Archives and History*, where the Director, Mr. Dunbar Rowland, prints in Appendix II a number of letters and other documents relating to the Burr Conspiracy so far as it affected Mississippi and Orleans Territories. Consult especially pages 135, 139.

<sup>91</sup>See *Third Annual Report* . . . , p. 77ff.

<sup>92</sup>The order for the arrest of Comfort Tyler is in *Ibid*, 74. He and Blennerhasset were tried in Mississippi and also in Richmond, but released, as was Burr. Cf. McCaleb, 282-284.



Co[lone]l B[urr] for funds, many of them, have been obliged to give the Landlords *leg* bail.

Two days before I arrived here a duel took place between Capt[ain] Leonard<sup>83</sup> and Lieutenant Jones of the navy in which the former was wounded. He is still living, but the wound is supposed to be mortal. They fought only 9 feet distant and fired three times without effect. The fourth, Capt[ain] L[eonard] received the wound in his side.

I think I shall be pleased with this place if I can find employment, but as yet have not had time to look about me. I shall probably remain here some time, and it is unnecessary for me to tell you, that a letter will at all times be a source of pleasure to me.

Give my best wishes to your own family, and to Mr. and Mrs. Stone, and believe me to be with sincere regard,

Your friend and very Hum[ble] Serv[an]t.

## XXII.

P. T. SCHENCK TO JAMES FINDLAY.

[Box 20, No. 28.]

New Orleans 8 May 1807.

Dear General.

Ever since I have been here I have been daily delaying writing in hopes of having some news worth relating, but can find nothing of *importance* to say, except, that I am well and hope you are. I left Natchez on the 9th finding but little prospect of getting into any business that would please me, and arrived here on the 13th ult[im]o. Through the attention of the gentlemen to whom I had introductory letters I am now engaged in the employ of Messrs. Sanderson & White, a respectable mercantile house of this city, on as good terms as I could expect.

What shall I write? Burr and his expedition has become a stale story, and as he is now (I suppose) in the City of Washington, any information respecting him will reach Cin[cinnati] sooner than this place. Our Governor, and military chief are the principal topics of conversation, and a nitch in the temple of

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<sup>83</sup>Lieutenant Commander James T. Leonard, of the U. S. Ketch. *Vesuvius*. Cf. *Ibid*, 139.



fame (unless "like Cromwell, damn'd to fame") I suspect will not be the reward of either of their services.<sup>94</sup> From the information given me by gentlemen of this place, this city never witnessed so much confusion as at the time of the arrest of Kerr, Alexander, Adair etc.<sup>95</sup> Surprise and astonishment was seated on the countenance of every person—orders were given for the immediate assembly of the Volunteer companies—that few of them knew the cause of their assemblage. Here, a soldier might be seen fixing his bayonet while running, there, another fixing his flint, others running through the streets crying "shut your doors, fasten your stores" etc. After the Volunteer Corps had assembled the General gave them a lengthy address representing the visionary dangers which his *duplicity* had painted, and how much they had to fear from the leaders of the expedition particularly Gen[eral] Adair who, (he observed) "is a dangerous man, *I myself*, have taught him lessons of war and of policy."

This confusion has now subsided, and produced the effect on the public mind which might well be expected. They have had the alarm of war sounded in their ears, they have been told that a military force was to sack the city and plunder them of their property, and business of every kind was stagnated; but they have now found that no cause existed for such alarm and curse their *civil* and *military* excellencies as the cause. Can there be a greater proof of a tyrant and of guilt than when a man dare not go through a peaceable city without a guard? The Gen[eral] never stirs abroad without six soldiers to protect the

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<sup>94</sup>For the attitude of Governor Claiborne and of General Wilkinson the best source is their letters of this period, as published by Rowland in *Third Annual Report* . . . 126ff. One should also consult McCaleb, 215ff, and H. Adams, III, 319. Claiborne's letters of December 17, 1806 (*Third Annual Report*, 131-133), and of January 2, 1807 (*Ibid*, 140-142), best show his attitude.

<sup>95</sup>For the excitement at this time of the arrest of John Adair, former senator from Kentucky, cf. Adams, III, 324. Wilkinson carefully refrained from arresting any residents of the city, except Judge James Workman, whom with Louis Kerr he believed to be engaged in "an intrigue to corrupt the army and plunder the bank." They were tried in Miss. Territory and declared "not guilty" in March. Cf. McCaleb, 283. Adair later brought suit against Wilkinson for false imprisonment, and at the end of eight years obtained a verdict of \$2,500 in his favor, which would have been greater "but for the notorious poverty of the general. The government, however, paid the debt." Cf. McCaleb, 300.



(self styled) "defender of the holy attributes of the constitution." That he must fall, if not from office, in the public estimation (unless that is already the case) is certain. I can't find a single person but believes that he would have embarked in the expedition with Co[lone]l B[urr] had the force been sufficiently strong.<sup>96</sup> Livingston,<sup>97</sup> Brown, Workman, and indeed all the talents of the country have dipped their pens in gall and are venting their sentiments as freely and bitterly as language will permit. It is expected many of the officers of the Army will resign, and I have been told (the truth of which I scarcely doubt) that they have been circulating a subscription list among themselves, for signatures, to effect a general resignation.

I have now given you a lengthy detail, unconnected, and of little importance, but as I have nothing else to write, pray be contented with this, although it will be a poor equivalent for the time you will lose in reading it. I shall certainly feel gratified by receiving a letter from you, as any information respecting the welfare of you or your family will ever compose a part of my pleasure. Give my respects to Mr. and Mrs. Stone, I will write them whenever I can find anything to say worth 25 cents postage.

With good wishes for your and your family's happiness, I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully,

XXIII.

WILLIAM FINDLAY TO JAMES FINDLAY.

[Box 7, No. 57.]

Brother James, Lancaster, February 14th, 1809.

..... I know nothing of Judge Du[n]lavy's<sup>98</sup> character, but what is exhibited in the report of the trial and I do

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<sup>96</sup>For a definite expression of this cf. Dunbar Rowland, *Third Annual Report* . . . , 146.

<sup>97</sup>Edward Livingston, formerly of New York, was a noted attorney, who afterwards codified the laws of Louisiana and served in the United States Senate and Jackson's Cabinet. He was the Secretary of State at the time of the Nullification Controversy. For Workman see Note 95.

<sup>98</sup>For Francis Dunlavy, or "Dunlevy" as his descendants spell it, see Morrow, *History of Warren County*, 357.





not think his letter<sup>99</sup> to the Governor as therein copied places his character in an enviable point of view. Neither does your friend Burnet's letter to the Governor, even taken in connection with his explanation, or apology, raise his character in my estimation.

<sup>100</sup>Betsey Smith and Jack Vanlear,<sup>101</sup> are now here, and have been for some days past. When they left home our friends in their neighborhood were well. Crawford takes his removal from office in high dudgeon, and will not even deign to speak to John. I believe Crawford's friends, which are not very numerous, think he should behave with more magnanimity on the occasion.<sup>102</sup>

It is here said, but I do not well know upon what authority, that there is a probability of Nathan being connected with the family of John Smith, the ex senator. I know nothing of the family, but be they what they may, from the present impressions which generally prevail against Smith over the United States, and which I doubt are too well founded, any connection with him or his family would be abhorrent to my feelings. I know a child ought not to be held responsible for the conduct of the father, or, be effected by it, in the estimation of the world, but the fact is otherwise, and however we might philosophize upon the position, in the abstract, the connection in this case, if it should take place, could never be mentioned, without wounding my sensibility in the highest degree. But notwithstanding no one could deplore the circumstances more than I would do, yet, if he has it in contemplation, it might answer a bad purpose to manifest a violent opposition to it; but it would be proper, to endeavour to persuade him from it, by the most delicate and gentle manner, and if these means should prove unavailing, we must however reluctantly, tamely submit to it. You can inform me on the subject and if there is ground for the report, and you should think my opinion would be of any service, I shall ad-

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<sup>99</sup>The letter referred to is doubtless in connection with the proceedings in the U. S. Circuit Court in the case of *U. S. vs. Blennerhassett et al.* A partial report of this appeared in the *Western Spy*, Jan. 25, 1808. Burnet's testimony is also summarized in *Gano Papers*, III, 41.

<sup>100</sup>Possibly Elizabeth, daughter of James Smith, elsewhere referred to as "Uncle James." Cf. Box 7, No. 56, and also QUARTERLY, IV, 14.

<sup>101</sup>John Van Lear, son of Matthew (?).

<sup>102</sup>The reference is to a change in local Pennsylvania politics, by which John Findlay obtained a lucrative county office. See Box 7, No. 56.



dress his understanding in a lengthy letter on the subject.<sup>103</sup> We are all in good health. I am with respect

Your brother,

## XXIV

NATHAN C. FINDLAY TO JAMES FINDLAY

[Box 8, No. 39.]

Washington City April 23, 1810.

Dear Brother

.....  
Since I have been here I have been generally once or more a day with Jonathan. He has a wonderful flow of spirits for his situation. He has in the prison<sup>104</sup> a Room in the upper story for himself about 18 feet by 25, a good bed, books, paper, pen and Ink. He boards with the jailer, who keeps a pretty good table and if not elegant with trifles, it is plain with substantial. He has generally more or less company every day. He has many well wishers and some real and sincere friends who would go almost any length to serve him. He told me he could get bail for several thousand dollars say 10-15 or 20,000 was he to agree to accept of it, but he says he was unrighteously committed to prison and that he said and promised when he went in that he would not give bail. I can not give you any

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<sup>103</sup>The marriage does not seem to have taken place, if we may judge from the genealogical chart prepared by Major George T. Handy. In August, 1807, Smith, who was then in West Florida, voluntarily delivered himself up to the authorities of Mississippi Territory, to be conveyed via Cincinnati to Richmond for trial as an accomplice of Aaron Burr. He was duly sent forward by Governor Robert Williams, but on failure of the charges against Burr a *nolle prosequi* was also entered on the bills against Smith. When he attempted to resume his seat in the Senate, late in the following November, a special committee, of which John Quincy Adams was chairman, reviewed the case against him and recommended his expulsion, but the vote in the Senate, 19 to 10, lacked one of the necessary two-thirds. Cf. Rowland, *Third Annual Report*, 84; J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, I, 481ff; H. Adams, III, 208.

<sup>104</sup>This case of imprisonment for debt simply illustrates one phase of the chequered career of Jonathan S. Findlay.



particular information as to the time when he will be out as it depends upon an answer from Scaton (?) of N[ew] York and when it comes wheather he will agree to the propositions made by brother John to him, for Jonathan's relief, that is to give him some or any of the back lands at a fair and reasonable price.

.....

This morning I had the pleasure and honor of being introduced by Col[onel] Taylor<sup>105</sup> to Mr. and Mrs. Madison. He appears to be solemn and profound; she is in her manners, easy, graceful and fascinating.

Gen[era]l Wilkinson<sup>106</sup> dined in this place about a week ago. Lieu[tenant] Cutler is one of his particular escorts. I think the Gen[era]l's character and fame will be from all appearances, something like an apple from a bended bow [bough] which takes its flight downward. ....

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<sup>105</sup>Colonel James Taylor of Newport, Ky. In this same letter Nathan C. Findlay states that Colonel Taylor wishes him to go into "a merchantile business" with him and his brother Edmund, provided Colonel Taylor can be released from his present partnership with Mr. Southgate, whom he does not especially admire.

<sup>106</sup>In an earlier letter Colonel Taylor had written James Findlay [Box 26, No. 14]: "No news of Wilkinson. The Sec[retar]y of War tells me he expects him here by 1st Ap[ri]l. He asked for permission to stay 3 mo[nths] to prepare some answer to Clark's book and to make arrangements. The Sec[retar]y gave him the time asked for and one month in addition if necessary. Most think he will put in here till Congress rises. I think B[enjamin] Howard of K[entuck]y will be Gov[erno]r of St. Louis. If he does not Coburn will." The book referred to is Daniel Clark's *Proofs of the Corruption . . . of General James Wilkinson*, which had appeared the year before. Howard became the governor of Louisiana (afterward Missouri) Territory. On the first of the preceding November John Brownson had written from Natchez to James Findlay: "Gen[era]l Wilkinson is ordered on to the seat of the Government and Gen[era]l Hampton [Hampton] to take the command in this district. The Troops are sickly and wretched beyond everything you have seen or heard of." For an account from the pen of Z. M. Pike of conditions in the lower Mississippi Country, of the strained relations between himself and General Hampton, and of the various courts-martial arising from the condition of the troops, see two letters dated July 10, 1810, and December 20, 1811, printed in *Tract No. 39*, published by the Western Reserve Historical Society.



THOMAS S. JESUP<sup>107</sup> TO JAMES FINDLAY.

[Box 13, No. 11.]

Washington City Jan'y 19th 1812.

Dear Sir,

I have this morning left my room to which I had been confined for the last eight days by a severe indisposition. The accountant has not yet taken up my accounts. I hope however to get him at them tomorrow and expect to return to Cincinnati sometime next month unless I can see a prospect of promotion. My arrival here was a fortunate circumstance for the subalterns of the seventh regiment. I have broken in considerably on the plans of Mr. Secretary.<sup>108</sup> He nominated (or rather placed on the list of nomination) two citizens to fill the vacancies of Capt[ain]s Cutler and Beall; I was informed of his intentions by the Inspector the evening of my arrival and represented the injustice of the case to the western members in such terms as induced them to make the most determined opposition to appointments of that description. Gen[era]l Worthington<sup>109</sup> told him plainly that if those names were sent to the Senate he would make every exertion in his power to have them rejected. He has relinquished his plan and will promote the eldest subalterns.

A bill has passed both houses, and has received the signature of the President, for raising an additional force of 25,000 men: this looks something like active service.<sup>110</sup> Indeed the object of raising this force is publicly acknowledged to be the invasion of Canada. The british minister (Mr. Foster)<sup>111</sup> has become re-

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<sup>107</sup> Thomas Sidney Jesup, a native of Virginia, was appointed to the seventh infantry in May, 1808, and became a first lieutenant the following year. He did not become Captain until January, 1813. He became brigadier general in 1818, and in due course major general in 1828, and died in 1860. He was an intimate friend of General Findlay, as may be seen from frequent references in the latter's correspondence.

<sup>108</sup> William Eustis of Massachusetts was then acting as Secretary of War and continued to serve until the end of the year. Cf. *Executive Register of the United States*, 1789-1902, p. 77.

<sup>109</sup> Thomas Worthington was then serving as Senator from Ohio.

<sup>110</sup> For the discussion of this bill and of the purpose of its author see McMaster, III, 435ff.

<sup>111</sup> Augustus J. Foster had been appointed as minister to this country for the purpose of conciliating public sentiment. Cf. McMaster, III, 402.





markedly attentive to Members of Congress: he gives a grand entertainment on Monday night, next, to which, I understand, he has invited the Majority of both houses. Is this for the purpose of obtaining information, or does he wish to conciliate?

I have seen your brother<sup>112</sup>—he is in good health and fine spirits. He informs me that in his present situation he can save something handsome. He is pleased with his employment—"nothing" says he "can afford me more exquisite pleasure than to observe the youthful mind expand and to witness its progressive improvement and to reflect that its advancement is owing to my exertions."

The trial of Gen[era]l Wilkinson<sup>113</sup> had closed previously to my arrival at Fredericktown. The result has not yet transpired, we shall probably have it in a few days. The opinions on the subject are various—his friends believe that he is honorably acquitted and his enemies the reverse.

I have sounded members of Congress on the subject of disbandment in the event of an accommodation of our differences with [Great] Britain and France. They are of opinion that not only the 25,000 but also the additional corps raised in 1808 will be dismissed, consequently the corps in which I now am can have no preference to those to be raised. I have some idea of applying for a Majority in the Infantry and have no doubt of success provided I can obtain your and Colo[nel] Taylors interest, the letter you were so good as to enclose to me with others which I brought on would have been sufficient had they mentioned the rank for which I wished to apply. Should you favor me with your support and obtain for me that of Colo[nel] Taylor I would wish the letter on the subject, directed to Mr. Morrow,<sup>114</sup> in preference to the Sec[retary]. Letters in this way receive more attention.

Have the goodness to present my respects to Mrs. Findlay and receive my best wishes for your health and happiness.

With respect and esteem Y[ou]rs.

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<sup>112</sup>This was his brother Jonathan.

<sup>113</sup>Wilkinson was acquitted. The investigations by Congress of Randolph's Charges, backed up by testimony from Daniel Clarke, of Orleans Territory, and the subsequent Court martial lasted from 1808 to 1812. Upon his acquittal he was sent to take command at New Orleans. Cf. Hildreth, III, 46, 309.

<sup>114</sup>Jeremiah Morrow served as the representative from Ohio from 1803 to 1813.



## XXVI.

SAMUEL PERRY<sup>115</sup> TO GEORGE P. TORRENCE.

[Box 18, No. 59.]

Dear Sir

New Orleans 23rd Sept 1814

.....

About a week since an expedition set out from this place consisting of 6 or 7 Gun Boats one small armed Brigg carrying 14 Guns and 4 or 500 Regular troops under the command of Co[lone]l Ross<sup>116</sup> for the purpose of breaking up a party of Smugglers or Pirates under the command of the notorious Laf-eit [Lafitte] who has infested the Lake Bar[r]ataria for three or four years past without interruption. Yesterday an express arrived bringing a letter from Co[lone]l Ross informing that they had succeeded in taking 7 schooners and some of the leaders of the party, but we are not informed whether Laffeit [Lafitte] is also taken, but presume he is not.

By the enclosed paper you will see what our military men in this country can do. ....

## XXVII.

SAMUEL PERRY TO THOMAS SLOO, JR.<sup>117</sup>

[Box 18, No. 60.]

Dear Sir

New Orleans 8th October 1814.

Your letter of the 28th August has just come to hand, and am extremely glad to find that some of our sugar has got on its

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<sup>115</sup>Samuel Perry, of the firm of Baum and Perry. Cf. Burnet, *Notes*, 400; *Ohio Arch. and Hist. Quarterly*, XVI, 335.

<sup>116</sup>George Thompson Ross, a native of Pennsylvania. He was then Colonel of the 44th infantry. Cf. Heitman, I, 846. Commodore Patterson seems to have been the leading spirit in command of this expedition against Lafitte. This notorious pirate later received a pardon for meritorious service in the defense of New Orleans against the British in 1815, and later took part in the operations on Galveston Island. Cf. Yoakum, *History of Texas*, I, 186; McMaster, IV, 174-179.

<sup>117</sup>There are letters from Sloo in Box 21, Nos. 35-48, and a great many to him, scattered through the collection. For his career in Illinois see Ford, *History of Illinois*.



way to market. I have received letters from Mr. Baum<sup>118</sup> up to the 13th ultimo which came by the same mail that brought yours, but in no one single letter does he mention his having forwarded any sugar nor does he tell me what has been done with it or what is intended to be done. I must therefore beg that you will give me regular information of what it going on, what quantity of sugar has been shipped and what is likely to be done with that which is on hand at home, also how cotton comes on.

This country affords but little news. A few days since the Expedi[ti]on which went against the celebrated Laffeit [Lafitte] returned with 7 prize vessels well loaded with goods, but unfortunately they are all German goods and of such a kind as does not suit our market, the whole amount taken is supposed to [be] worth upwards of one hundred Thousand Dollars.

Gen[era]l Jackson has not as was expected gone to Pensacola, but still remains at Mobile, where the Tennessee troops are joining him every day.<sup>119</sup> If the British let us alone here one or two months more we can then make a formidable resistance. That is his army can protect us.

Flour and indeed every article in the produce line extremely dull. Fresh Flour sells slowly to the Bakers at 11 to 12\$, but two Boat loads arriving at the same time bring it down to almost nothing as there are no purchasers except the Bakers and they never buy more than 8 or 10 Barrels at a time. ....

Since writing the above we have been informed that the Barge Two Brothers loaded by Messrs Smith Dorsey & Co. with coffee for account of some persons in Baltimore has been lost near Natchez and the cargo nearly or entirely lost.

## XXVIII.

SAMUEL PERRY TO THOMAS SLOO, JR.

[Box 18, No. 61.]

New Orleans 11th Novr 1814.

Dear Sir

Your letter dated the 17th ultimo has been received, by which I perceive you are under the impression that goods are very

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<sup>118</sup>For a sympathetic sketch of Martin Baum, cf. Mansfield, *Personal Memories*, 1803-1843, p. 147.

<sup>119</sup>Jackson's forces had beaten off a British attack upon Fort Bowyer at the entrance of Mobile Harbor, but he did not have troops enough to attempt a retaliatory attack upon Pensacola until later. Cf. McMaster, IV, 181, and the next letter.



plenty here in consequence of the capture of Laffeits [Lafitte's] vessels. I am however, sorry to inform you that the goods which were taken there are not such as suits your country they being principally of German and Russia[n] manufactory. Indeed there is no chance here to purchase goods, everything in the dry good line is extremely high and scarce.

Letters have been received in town yesterday from Gen[era]l Jackson's army stating that they were then on their march, but where their place of destination is [is] not stated. It is however believed that they have gone to Pensacola, and persons who pretend to know much of the matter say there is no doubt but that our Flag now waves over the walls of that famous city.

Never was business here so completely at a stand, nothing a doing and what seems still more horrible there is no prospect of the times being better. What is to become of the host of accomplished merchants that infest the Coffee Houses, I am at a loss to know. I am however inclined to think that there will not hereafter be the same difficulty in getting soldiers as has been experienced since the war [began].

What says Mr. B[awn] now to my wild speculation in sugar etc. By the latest quotations from Philadelphia I see that sugar would command about 27\$ cash per cwt. and cotton 30 to 31 cents. Your country produce is extremely dull. Flour is worth when it sells 9 to 10\$, but you may rest assured that in less than 2 months (unless some great changes take place) it will not command 5\$.

Please tender my respects to Madam Mrs Findlay, Mrs Torrence, the Gen[era]l. and the Major and all inquiring friends, also accept for yourself my best wishes. ....

The sugar crops will be very large and fine, there has been only one sale as yet made say 100 hog[sheds] at 8 cents. I am however of the opinion that it will be lower.

## XXIX.

SAMUEL PERRY TO THOMAS SLOO, JR.

[Box 18, No. 62.]

Dear Sloo

New Orleans 9th Decr. 1814

By the last mail I received your letter dated the 31st October which gave me much satisfaction inasmuch as it informed me what disposition has been made of the property which I sent up





the river last season. I had a right to expect that Mr. B[aum] would have given me that information but it does not appear that he thought in the same way else he would doubtless have given it me. I am however convinced had sugar turned out to be so bad an article as he expected it would [be] I should have heard enough on that subject.

I am very sorry your prospects for a winter's business are so gloomy, but as matters now stand but little can be done in dry goods. I am however still in hopes that you may be able to keep yourselves out of debt until the war is over and then a fortune may easily be made. You may perhaps think when I tell you that was it not on account of the persons connected with the firm of Baum & Perry that that partnership would immediately desolve, that I am in a fit of passion, and that I will in a short time forget it. but I assure [you] that my feellings have been so much and so repeatedly put to the torture that I have come to the determination of closing the business so soon as it can be done without making too great sacrifices.

Gen[era]l Jackson arrived in town a few days since but has again left it to visit the Bilese [Belize] where he intends erecting a fort. The Kentucky and Tennessee troops are expected in about 2 weeks. Gen[era]l Coffee with about 2500 mounted men is now at Batton Rouge where they are to remain for some time.<sup>120</sup> .....

I am yours,

Sugar 8 cents dull

Pork 15\$ scarce

Cotton 10½ dull

Coffee 30 cents

Flour 9 to 9½ do

XXX.

CLARA H. PIKE<sup>121</sup> TO THOMAS SLOO, JR.

[Box 18, No. 71.]

Boon County, Kentucky October 22 1815.

To Mr. Sloo

Sir, Being a stranger to you, I should not thus have addressed you on a subject foreign to your own immediate interest, but

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<sup>120</sup>For Jackson's movements in the vicinity of New Orleans and the necessity for his presence, see McMaster, IV, 182ff.

<sup>121</sup>Clara H. Pike was the widow of the General, and daughter of John Brown of Kentucky. For an account of the family connections and the various editions of Pike's works, cf. Coues, *Expeditions . . . of Lieutenant Z. M. Pike*, I, xxx, xxxviii.



from the emergency of the case, and the recommendation of some of your acquaintance, who assured me that (if practicable) you would attend to an affair of considerable importance to me, which from your situation in England you might probably be enabled to perform, viz a Demand on Longman, Hurst, and Co. London Booksellers, who edited the Travels of the late General Pike, who not long previous to his death received a letter from Longman, Hurst and Co. dated 7th October 1812, containing charges for Printing and Editing 500 copies and an account of the sale of 301, which defrayed all the expenses, except 2*l* 0 5*d* against Gen[era]l Z. M. Pike leaving a balance of 199 copies to be sold, and the amount to be equally divided between them. Should they have disposed of those copies I presume, they are prepared to remit to me whatever should have been due my late husband. In that case, you are hereby authorized to receive of, and receipt to them for the same, and any expense or trouble incurred in the transaction. shall be gratefully remunerated. ....

XXXI.

THOMAS FINLEY<sup>122</sup> to JAMES FINDLAY.

[Box 7, No. 20.]

Balto. 13th December 1818.

Brother James:

It is a long time since I had the pleasure of hearing from you in any way, and I think you are my debtor for several letters. But however this may be I will trouble you with another commencing in the good old Irish style about myself. Ever since my visit to Bedford my health has been gradually improving and I have now hopes of regaining my usual strength.....

I have a long letter from Jonathan dated on the 19th October in which he says that his prospects are flattering. I rejoice at this most heartily. I had urged him so strongly to push to the extreme West, that, I should have reproached myself had it not turned out well. I think now that he is likely to become wealthy, and that he will have that standing in society to which his talents

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<sup>122</sup>For Thomas Finley, see QUARTERLY, I, 66. Letters relating to the removal of Jonathan Findlay to Missouri and his subsequent career are in Box 7 and Box 8.



and his virtues so justly entitle him. I think it probable that I shall one day or other remove my rising family to the extreme West, feeling confident that they may do better there than here if they are so disposed. Business in the Cities becomes worse and worse every year. It is now, not only unprofitable but unpleasant in the extreme. This I think must also be the case at Cincinnati as I observe by the report of your committee that you are largely in debt without having the inclination or the ability to pay. I should like to know what course your good citizens would wish the Bank of the United States to pursue. Your Branch has certainly been liberal, and yet the people appear dissatisfied.<sup>123</sup> If the circulating medium of the Country is to continue on a metallic basis, property in your city will decline 50 per cent. It is the wish of many of our citizens that Congress would prohibit the exportation of every description of specie. If this measure were adopted the Banks would be able to sustain specie payments without much difficulty. It is reported here that the Merchants of Ohio owe the Philadelphians six millions of dollars. If this be true the whole produce of the State will not pay the debt for several years.

The Circuit Court of the United States have been engaged here for some time past on the trial of some of our citizens who have been Privateering, under the Flag of Buones [Buenos] Ayres.<sup>124</sup> This they call patriotism but in reality it is a love of plunder. But owing to some defect in the law or in the administration of the law, I believe none of them will be punished. We have had a fine display of talents; Glenn, Hoffman and Wirt<sup>125</sup> for the prosecution Winder and Pinckney for the def[endan]t Mr. Wirt is certainly a great man and holds a distinguished rank as a lawyer, but great as he is, this brilliant

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<sup>123</sup>For the relations between the Branch U. S. Bank and the people of Cincinnati, see McMaster, IV, 498, and *Quarterly*, II, 105.

<sup>124</sup>Baltimore was the center of several filibustering expeditions of this period.

<sup>125</sup>Wirt had appeared at Richmond against Aaron Burr, and his succeeding reputation rested largely upon the speech delivered upon that occasion. He was then attorney general in Monroe's Cabinet and served in the same capacity under John Quincy Adams. Pinkney had been minister to Great Britain just before the outbreak of hostilities. Winder was the commander of the American forces in the unsuccessful defense of Washington.



star of Virginia is eclipsed by the greater luminary of Maryland. I presume that Mr. Pinckney is second to no man living as a profound lawyer and as an accomplished speaker. Gen[era]l Winder is also a very superior man and much more successful at the forum than in the field. Our friend's message to the Legislature of our Native State is a sensible production and has been a good deal praised by the Philadelphia Editors. In some of the Paragraphs the style would admit of a higher polish, but I think the substance does him credit. His friends are all powerful in the Legislature and I think he will get along quite smoothly.

What is your opinion of Steam Boat Stock? Will it advance or decline? Will not the great number that are building, when completed reduce the rate of freight from New Orleans?<sup>126</sup> Would not a grocery establishment succeed admirably at New Orleans? .....

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<sup>126</sup>The first steamboat on the Ohio made its voyage in 1811, but it was not till 1817 that Captain Henry Shreve successfully demonstrated its usefulness in the river trade. Cf. F. P. Goodwin, *Growth of Ohio*, 105.





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COMMITTEE IN CHARGE OF PUBLICATION

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CHARLES T. GREVE.      MERRICK WHITCOMB.



# ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

## Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio

For the Year Ending  
December 6, 1909



CINCINNATI  
PRESS OF JENNINGS AND GRAHAM



## OFFICERS FOR 1909-10

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The meetings of the Society are held in its room in the Van Wormer Library Building, Burnet Woods, at three in the afternoon of the first Saturday of each month from October to May.

The Library is a free public Library, open to visitors daily, except Sunday, from nine A. M. to five P. M.





ANNUAL REPORT  
OF THE  
Historical and Philosophical Society  
of Ohio for 1909

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LIBRARIAN'S REPORT

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Cincinnati, December 6th, 1909.

*Mr. President and Members of the Society.*

I have the honor to submit this report for the year ending to-day.

The donations to the library have been 261 volumes, 1,449 pamphlets, 7 bound volumes of manuscripts, 66 unbound manuscripts, and various miscellanies. Other acquisitions were obtained by purchase and exchange.

The following purchases were made: 42 volumes and 2 pamphlets from the Elizabeth H. Appleton fund; 77 volumes and 5 pamphlets from the Margaret Rives King fund; 3 volumes from the fund of the Colonial Dames Society; and 8 periodicals from the General fund.

By an exchange of a quantity of duplicate periodicals for material not in the library, we have secured an additional 57 volumes of history and biography; 2 pamphlets (early local publications), and about 282 monthly serials of late dates, which were needed to complete some of our sets of bound serials. Another increase in the number of volumes has been gained by the binding of historical quarterlies into 33 volumes. The entire number of volumes acquired during the year is 472 and of pamphlets 1,460. The library now contains 23,563 volumes and, approximately estimated, about 67,230 pamphlets against 68,962 of last year, the decrease being caused by exchange and binding as mentioned above.



Besides the binding of the volumes mentioned, 25 volumes in the King collection have been rebound.

The Manuscripts received are from various sources:

*Mr. W. K. Bixby of St. Louis.*

Letter of Caleb B. Smith, Cincinnati, Jan. 16th, 1855;

Letter of John Johnston Sozen, Mar. 27th, 1846. These were from the collection of George Harrington, who was connected with the Treasury Department from the time of Zachary Taylor to the administration of Andrew Johnson.

*Mrs. A. H. Chatfield.*

1 volume of letters, reports, and miscellaneous material relating to the Cincinnati Training School for Nurses, 1889. Contains list of subscribers.

1 volume—J. Ralston Skinner's Notes and Comments upon "The Ten Books of Marcus Vitruvius Pollio translated from the latin by Joseph Gwilt, F. S. A. Architect. . . ." These notes, as stated upon fly-leaf, were composed Jan. 14, 1885, for Mary Fletcher Huntington (the mother of the donor).

*Mr. D. L. James.*

2 scrap books compiled by Mary A. Murphy, in 1890.

*Mr. W. StJ. Jones.*

1 volume which consists of copies of papers relating to the War of 1812; McAfee's "Memorandum"; His Life and Times; Reminiscences of Capt. John McMurtry, etc.

1 volume, Copy of papers relating to War of 1812; Ohio Company, 1754; Addresses of Caleb Emerson; Short account of Rev. Daniel Story; and various letters.

1 volume, contains a small list of early publications, made by Robert Clarke.

*Mr. Alfred Ripley of Boston.*

Letter of Bellamy Storer, 1818, addressed to Dr. Jesse Appleton, President of Bowdoin College, which was secured by Judge Hollister.

*Mr. C. W. Short.*

25 letters addressed to John Cleves Short, of dates 1825 to 1832, written severally by Samuel Simonton, W. Basson, R. M. Corwine, D. K. Este, B. Wells & Co., Ben Piatt, J. H. Jackson, Dr. Oliver Fairchild, Judge Wm. Burke, Dr. J. F. Henry, Daniel Gano, W. H. Harrison, Jr., James Chattin, Jonathan Judah, E.



Stebbins, Hezekiah May, George Graham, J. Scott Harrison, and one letter of J. R. Chickering of 1860;

2 letters (copies) written by J. C. Short, 1832;

Small journal of 1811-12, relative to earthquake shocks felt in and around Cincinnati;

Bill of accounts of A. Hunt & Co. agst. Jonah Goodrich, 1794;

Bill of accounts of Jeremiah Landin agst. Jonah Goodrich, 1793;

Bill of St. Clair & More agst. J. C. Short;

Appointment of William Mitchell as Cadet at U. S. Naval Academy, 1861;

Constitution of Hamilton County Light Dragoons Company;

24 Tax receipts, Cincinnati, 1831-56;

1 Insurance policy, 1841;

Subpoena, 1832, Case of Gilmore vs. Graham et al.

*Mr. W. W. Taylor.*

Letter of Randolph Rogers, Rome, Oct. 20, 1864.

*Mr. J. L. Wayne, Jr.*

Constitution and List of members of the Union Elocution Society of Cincinnati, 1820, and various receipted bills of different firms of the city.

*Mr. J. Wilby.*

Letter of Hon. William H. Taft, 1906.

*Dr. DeF. Willard.*

Statesman's manual & Farmer's Library account with Edward Walker and Greeley & McElrath, 1846.

The gifts to the Cabinet are:

*Mr. H. M. Levy.*

Photograph of Hughes High School.

*Mr. J. Wilby.*

Photograph of the Lytle Homestead.

*Mrs. A. H. Chatfield.*

Photograph of the Indian "Wolf Voice".

*Mr. J. F. Winslow.*

Photograph of the Auditorium of Christ Church taken during the Dinner given, Jan. 23, 1909, to the workmen and contractors who had a part in the erection of the Parish House, the gift of Mrs. Mary M. Emery to the Parish of Christ Church.



Print of the new building to be erected for the Ohio Mechanics Institute in memory of Mr. Thomas J. Emery.

*Mr. J. S. Conner.*

Military pass issued 1884 during the Court House riot in this city, at which time the building was burned.

*Wyoming Historical & Geological Society of Wilkes Barré.*

Invitation Card to the 50th anniversary of the Society and the 100th anniversary of the Burning of Wyoming Coal for Domestic use, accompanied by an attractive medal, commemorative of the event.

*Miss J. C. Neave.*

Numerous Invitation cards of early dates.

*Mr. G. A. Middleton.*

Ohio Presidential Ticket, 1864, (Lincoln & Johnson) and Ticket of the Republican National Convention of 1876.

*Mr. F. Spencer.*

Bank Post Bill of the Isle of Wight, 1801;

London almanac, 1793, 1 x 2 inches, illustrated and daintily encased.

*Mr. H. F. Woods.*

Badge of the Grand Lodge, Ohio, 1908.

*Mr. A. H. Chatfield.*

Badge of Citizens Committee for Taft Notification Day;

Medal of Inaugural Committee, Mar. 4, 1909; Fireman's Badge;

Cincinnati Commercial Club Banner Program of Entertainment given on 25th anniversary, May 25, 1905, and a souvenir of that occurrence in the form of a pack of cards illustrated with views of this city.

*Mrs. E. C. Iddings.*

Photograph of Rev. James Kemper, (pioneer clergyman of Cincinnati);

Daguerreotypes of Peter Kemper and his wife.

Some of the titles added this year by purchase are: New Jersey as a Colony and State; Avery's History of the United States, 6 vols.; The South in the Building of the Nation, 8 vols.; Knickerbocker's History of New York, 1826; Political History





of New York, vol. 3, 1909; Repeal of the Missouri Compromise; Story of the Great Lakes; Remaking of the Mississippi; Romance of American Expansion; Home letters of General Sherman; Historic Indiana; Speakers of the House; Great Speeches of Garfield; Poets of Ohio by Venable; Mackay's Western Territory; Political History of Slavery by W. H. Smith; Works of James Buchanan, Vols. 7-9; Reminiscences of Carl Schurz; Travels of four years and a half in the United States, 1798-1802, by John Davis; Blake's Visit to some American Schools and Colleges, 1865, (Oberlin and Antioch Colleges, St. Mary Institute, and Public Schools); Col. Crockett's Tour to the North & Down East, 1834; Caulkins' New London, (1st ed.); Narratives of New Netherland, 1609-1664; 1 volume containing 22 pamphlets relating to the Miami University, 1838; Four months in a Sneak-Box, 2600 miles down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, by N. H. Bishop, 1875; History of the Mennonites of America; 2 volumes of Cincinnati Newspapers, "The Midnight Cry", 1843-4, and "The Day-Star", 1846-7, which were published by the Shakers; etc.

A few incomplete sets, gifts to the library years ago, have been perfected by the following purchases: Vol. 6 of Schoolcraft's Indians; Vol. 2 of Benton's Thirty Years in the Senate; Vol. 7 of 1st Series, and Vols. 1-15 of 2d Ser. of Jared Sparks' American Biography; and, by purchase and exchange, several of our sets of the publications of different Historical Societies, which were deficient in parts of volumes, have been filled in. Also a number of biographies and a few genealogies have been added to the collection.

Our Society is indebted to a number of distant friends for generous donations, namely: The New Hampshire State Library for 6 volumes of history and genealogy; to Mr. V. H. Paltsits, State Historian, for 2 volumes, "Minutes of the Commissioners for detecting and defeating Conspiracies in the State of New York, Albany County Sessions, 1778-81"; to the Litchfield County (Conn.) University Club for 3 volumes, namely: "The Sport of Bird Study" by H. K. Job; "Clergymen of Litchfield Co." and, "The County Regiment, a sketch of the 2nd Regiment of Conn. V. H. A., originally the 19th V. I. in Civil War"; to Mr. H. N. Casson, the author, a copy of "Cyrus Hall McCormick, his life and work"; to Mr. Edwin J. Sellers, compiler, 2 volumes, the



De Carpentier and the Pfeiffer Family genealogies; and, to Mr. Samuel Abbott Green, the author, a copy of "John Foster the earliest American Engraver and the first Boston Printer."

The Brewster Genealogy, 2 large volumes, compiled by a Cincinnati, Mrs. Emma C. Brewster Jones, has been donated by her to the Society. Two small books, the "Ohio Annual Register, 1835" and the "Ohio Form Book containing precedents for proceedings under the laws of the State of Ohio in relation to Roads, Deeds, Wills", etc., 1831, have been presented by Mr. Charles W. Short. Both of these bear the autograph of J. Cleves Short.

Miss Jane C. Neave has given a copy of James Hall's "Western Souvenir for 1829". Mr. Eugene F. Bliss gave to this collection, besides various other volumes, a copy of the "Mémoires de M. Le Duc de Lauzun", who served in the American Revolution with the French auxiliaries; and, through the unceasing generosity of Mr. Bliss, we receive, year after year, the Nation, the American Folk-lore, North American Review, Century, American Historical Review, and the Harvard Graduates Magazine, all in fine half morocco bindings.

Mr. A. H. Chatfield has donated 20 bound volumes of the Scribner Magazine, thus bringing our set up to date, and Mr. Joseph Wilby has had 12 volumes of one of our periodicals bound, and, by exchange, I have added largely to other sets. If some of our members would save their copies of the Atlantic Monthly and the Harper's Magazine and send them to this Society when no longer desired by them, the gifts would be very acceptable.

The work of the library has progressed in the usual manner. A number of persons from distant points have visited the library during the year to search for historical matter of early dates, and in every instance surprise and satisfaction has been expressed over the amount deposited here, and each visitor has commented upon the undesirable location of our Society, as being so far distant from the center of the city as to prevent a full day's research in the library. Undoubtedly the interests of the Society would be greatly advanced by a return to the business part of the city, or other location more accessible and convenient for visitors and members alike.

L. BELLE HAMLIN, *Librarian*.



## DONORS TO THE LIBRARY

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	VOL.	PART.
Academy of History and Antiquities, Stockholm, Sweden, . . . . .		4
American Association for International Conciliation, . . . . .	1	4
American Jewish Historical Association, . . . . .	1	
Anti-Imperialistic League, . . . . .		1
Bunker Hill Monument Association, . . . . .	1	
Cambridge Historical Society, . . . . .		1
Canadian Institute, . . . . .		1
Chicago Historical Society, . . . . .	1	4
Cincinnati—		
Arbitration and Peace Society, . . . . .	1	
Chamber of Commerce, . . . . .	1	
Children's Home, . . . . .		1
Commissioners of Waterworks, . . . . .	1	
Museum Association, . . . . .		17
Nomad Club (per Miss L. Nichols), . . . . .		1
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Ohio Mechanics' Institute, . . . . .		1
Orchestra Association, . . . . .		2
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Clark University (Mass.), . . . . .		1
Colorado College, . . . . .		3
Colorado Scientific Society, . . . . .		8
Colorado State Historical Society, . . . . .	1	
Connecticut Historical Society, . . . . .		1
Connecticut Bureau of Labor Statistics, . . . . .	1	
Connecticut State Library, . . . . .	3	3
Essex Institute, . . . . .		1
Illinois State Historical Society, . . . . .	1	3
Indiana Historical Society, . . . . .		5
Institute Geológico de Mexico, . . . . .	1	4
Iowa Grand Lodge, . . . . .	1	
Iowa Historic Department, . . . . .		18
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Johns Hopkins University Library, . . . . .		2
Kansas State Historical Society, . . . . .	1	
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## PRESIDENT'S REPORT

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The Librarian's Report is sufficient account of ourselves during the past year.

The Quarterly Publications of the Society have included as Numbers 1 and 2, of Volume IV, Selections from the James McBride Manuscripts, relating to Miami University. Their publication at this time seemed fitting recognition by our Society of Miami's Hundredth Anniversary. The selections were arranged and edited by John Ewing Bradford, Associate Professor of History at Miami University.

The contents of our Quarterlies, beginning 1906, are:

Volume I, 1906, No. 1, January-March, Personal Narrative of William Lytle.

No. 2, April-June, Letters of Hiram Powers to Nicholas Longworth.

No. 3, July-September, Selections from The Torrence Papers, I, Edited by Isaac Joslyn Cox, Assistant Professor of History, University of Cincinnati.

No. 4, October-December, The Annual Reports of the Society.

Volume II, 1907, No. 1, January-March, Selections from The Torrence Papers, II, Edited by Mr. Cox.

No. 2, April-June, Selections from The Gallipolis Papers, Edited by Theodore T. Belote, Colonial Dames Fellow in Ohio Valley History, University of Cincinnati.

No. 3, July-September, Selections from The Torrence Papers, III, Edited by Mr. Cox.

No. 4, October-December, The Annual Reports of the Society.

Volume III, 1908, No. 1, January-March, "Notices Concerning Cincinnati, by Daniel Drake," Part I (reprint).

No. 2, April-June, The same, Part II (reprint).

No. 3, July-September, Selections from the Torrence Papers, IV, Edited by Mr. Cox.



No. 4, October-December, The Annual Reports of the Society.

Volume IV, 1909, No. 1, Selections Relating to Miami University, from the James McBride Manuscripts, I.

No. 2, The same, II.

Both Edited by Professor Bradford.

No. 3, Selections from The Torrence Papers, V, Edited by Mr. Cox.

No. 4 will consist, as usual, of the Annual Reports of the Society.

This Society expresses here its appreciation of careful and scholarly editing by Professor Cox, Professor Bradford, and Mr. Belote, of material from our collections appearing in these Quarterlies.

Two Corporate Members have died during the year, both on the same day, December 15th, 1908; Daniel Henry Holmes and Mrs. Charles W. Baker. Mr. Holmes had been a member for over twenty years; Mrs. Baker for over ten. Both were valued members, interested in the work of the Society.

The remoteness of our present quarters remains an increasing hindrance to our convenience and larger usefulness; Hope abides. Let us also possess patience.

JOSEPH WILBY.

December 6, 1909.





# REPORT OF TREASURER

December 2, 1909.

*For the President and Members of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio.*

I have the honor to present the annual report of the Assets and Liabilities of The Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio for the year ending November 30th, 1909.

## Schedule "A."

### STATEMENT OF ASSETS AND LIABILITIES

November 30th, 1909.

#### ASSETS.

Cash in hands of Treasurer, . . . . .	\$738 57	
Cash in hands of Librarian, . . . . .	35 65	
		\$774 22
Central Trust & Safe Deposit Interest Account, . . . . .	12 54	
Investments, . . . . .	Exhibit I, 24,784 42	
Fee of property No. 107 W. Eighth St., . . . . .	29,000 00	
Total Assets, . . . . .		<u>\$54,571 18</u>

#### LIABILITIES.

General Fund, . . . . .	Exhibit 2,	\$716 25
Building Fund, . . . . .	" 3,	17,192 14
Endowment Fund, . . . . .	" 4,	12,320 00
Life Membership Fund, . . . . .	" 5,	5,037 13
Julius Dexter Publication Fund, Income, . . . . .	" 6,	13 65
" " " " Principal, . . . . .	" 6,	1,074 25
E. H. Appleton Memorial Fund, Income, . . . . .	" 7,	42 28
" " " " Principal, . . . . .	" 7,	4,143 40
Halsted Neave Fund, Income, . . . . .	" 8,	31 46
" " " " Principal, . . . . .	" 8,	4,408 25
Margaret Rives King Fund, Income, . . . . .	" 9,	160 54
" " " " Principal, . . . . .	" 9,	8,397 50
Colonial Dames Fund, Income, . . . . .	" 10,	19 10
" " " " Principal, . . . . .	" 10,	200 00
Binding Fund, Income, . . . . .	" 11,	7 59
" " " " Principal, . . . . .	" 11,	807 64
Total liabilities, . . . . .		<u>\$54,571 18</u>



## Schedule "B."

# STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

For Year Ended November 30th, 1909.

## RECEIPTS.

DUES—1908, . . . . .	\$30 00	
1909, . . . . .	<u>560 00</u>	\$590 00
INCOME FROM INVESTMENTS:		
General Fund, . . . . .	\$34 65	
Life Membership Fund, . . . . .	274 50	
Dexter Publication Fund, . . . . .	40 60	
E. H. Appleton Fund, . . . . .	195 50	
Halsted Neave Fund, . . . . .	193 40	
Margaret Rives King Fund, . . . . .	332 00	
Colonial Dames Fund, . . . . .	12 00	
Binding Fund, . . . . .	<u>72 00</u>	\$1,154 65
Rent of 107 W. Eighth St., to Oct. 31, 1909,		800 00
Balance of M. R. King Legacy, . . . . .		<u>263 67</u>
Total Receipts, . . . . .		\$2,808 32

## DISBURSEMENTS.

Salaries—Librarian and Janitor, . . . . .	\$1,050 00	
Assistant Librarian, . . . . .	29 00	
Stationery, . . . . .	4 70	
Postage, . . . . .	31 70	
Insurance, . . . . .	18 00	
Printing, . . . . .	269 29	
Audit of Treasurer's Books, . . . . .	25 00	
Safe Deposit Box Rental, . . . . .	7 00	
Miscellaneous, . . . . .	50 95	
E. H. Appleton Fund, Purchases and Expenses, . . . . .	160 93	
M. R. King Fund, Purchases and Expenses, . . . . .	288 66	
Colonial Dames Fund, Purchases and Expenses, . . . . .	7 63	
Binding Fund—Binding, . . . . .	67 60	
General Fund, . . . . .	<u>79 53</u>	\$2,089 99
INVESTMENTS PURCHASED FOR:		
Margaret Rives King Fund, . . . . .	\$390 00	
Accrued Interest, . . . . .	<u>3 51</u>	393 51
Julius Dexter Fund, . . . . .	\$224 25	
Accrued Interest, . . . . .	<u>2 02</u>	226 27
Binding Fund, . . . . .	\$97 50	
Accrued Interest, . . . . .	88	98 38
Halsted Neave Fund, . . . . .	\$165 75	
Accrued Interest, . . . . .	<u>1 49</u>	167 24
E. H. Appleton Fund, . . . . .	\$97 50	
Accrued Interest, . . . . .	<u>88</u>	98 38
		<u>\$3,073 71</u>
EXCESS DISBURSEMENTS OVER RECEIPTS, . . . . .		\$265 45
CASH BALANCE AT DEC. 1, 1908, . . . . .		<u>1,039 67</u>
CASH BALANCE AT NOV. 30, 1909, . . . . .		<u>\$774 22</u>



**Exhibit "1"**

**STATEMENT OF INVESTMENTS AND SAVINGS  
DEPOSITS**

**November 30th, 1909**

**GENERAL FUND :**

10 Shares Cincinnati Street Railway Co. Stock (cost),	\$716 25
---	----------

**LIFE MEMBERSHIP FUND :**

83 Shares Cincinnati Street Railway Co. Stock (cost),	\$4,425 75
Part Interest in \$2,000 C. & O. Railway. Co. 4½% Bonds (cost),	314 38
4 Shares Cincinnati Street Railway Co. Stock (cost),	289 00

Savings Deposit—3% Central Trust & Safe Dep. Co.,	\$5,029 13
	8 00

5,037 13

**JULIUS DEXTER PUBLICATION FUND :**

12 Shares Cincinnati Street Railway Co. Stock (cost),	\$834 00
Savings Deposit—3% Central Trust & Safe Dep. Co.,	16 00
Part Interest in C. L. & N. Railway Co. Bond, . . .	224 25

1,074 25

**E. H. APPLETON MEMORIAL FUND :**

3 Bonds C. H. & D. Railway Co. 4% (cost), . . . . .	\$2,882 50
13 Shares Cincinnati Street Railway Co. Stock (cost),	677 50
2 Shares Cincinnati Street Railway Co. Stock (cost), .	144 50
Part Interest in \$2,000 C. & O. Railway Co. Stock 4½% Bonds (cost), . . . . .	314 37

Savings Deposit—3% Central Trust & Safe Dep. Co.,	\$4,018 87
Part Interest in C. L. & N. Railway Co. Bond, . . .	27 03
	97 50

4,143 40

**HALSTED NEAVE FUND :**

C. L. & N. Railway Co. Bond, 4%. . . . .	\$1,000 00
Kineon Coal Co. Bond, 5%, . . . . .	1,000 00
2 Norfolk & Western Railway Co. Bonds, 4% (cost),	1,755 00
Part Interest in Kentucky Central Ry. 4% Bond, 1950,	487 50
Part Interest in C. L. & N. Railway Bond, . . . . .	165 75

4,408 25

**MARGARET RIVES KING FUND :**

4 Bonds C. H. & D. Railway Co. 4½% (cost), . . . . .	\$4,512 50
7 shares Cincinnati Street Railway Co. Stock (cost), .	481 25
Part Interest in \$2,000 C. & O. Ry. Co. 4½% Bond,	1,551 25
Part Interest in Kentucky Central Railway. Co. 4% Bonds, 1950, . . . . .	1,462 50
Part Interest in C. L. & N. Railway Bond, . . . . .	390 00

8,397 50

**COLONIAL DAMES FUND :**

4 Shares Cincinnati Street Railway Co. Stock (cost), .	200 00
--	--------

**BINDING FUND :**

10 Shares Cincinnati Street Railway Co. Stock (cost),	\$680 63
Savings Deposit—3% Central Trust & Safe Dep. Co.,	29 51
Part Interest in C. L. & N. Railway Bond, . . . . .	97 50

807 64

Total, . . . . .	<u>\$24,784 42</u>
------------------	--------------------

(Increase during year, \$975.00.)



(Exhibit "2")

## GENERAL FUND

November 30th, 1909

### RECEIPTS AND TRANSFERS:

Dues, 1908, . . . . .	\$30 00	
" 1909, . . . . .	560 00	
		<hr/> \$590 00
Cincinnati Street Railway Dividend, . . . . .	30 00	
Cash Donation, . . . . .	2 15	
Sale of Catalogues, . . . . .	2 50	
Transferred from Life Membership Fund, . . . . .	274 79	
Transferred from Endowment Fund, . . . . .	615 00	
		<hr/> \$1,514 44

### DISBURSEMENTS:

Salaries—Librarian and Janitor, . . . . .	\$1,050 00	
Assistant for Librarian, . . . . .	29 00	
Printing, . . . . .	269 29	
Postage, . . . . .	31 70	
Insurance, . . . . .	18 00	
Paper for Quarterly, . . . . .	28 98	
Subscriptions and Dues, . . . . .	36 00	
Dues of Librarian, . . . . .	10 00	
Stationery, . . . . .	4 70	
General Expense, . . . . .	82 95	
Miscellaneous, . . . . .	4 55	
		<hr/> 1,565 17
DEFICIT CARRIED TO BUILDING FUND, . . . . .		<hr/> \$50 73
GENERAL FUND INVESTMENT ACCOUNT, . . . . .		<hr/> <hr/> \$716 25





(Exhibit "3")

## BUILDING FUND

November 30th, 1909

### INCOME ACCOUNT

#### RECEIPTS AND TRANSFERS :

Rents to Oct. 1st, 1909, . . . . .	\$800 00	
Deficiency transferred to Principal Account, . . . .	507 86	
		<u>\$1,307 86</u>

#### DISBURSEMENTS :

Deficiency to Dec. 1st, 1908 . . . . .	\$642 13	
Interest on Endowment Fund, . . . . .	615 00	
Deficiency from General Fund, . . . . .	50 73	
		<u>\$1,307 86</u>

### PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT

Credit Balance at Dec. 1, 1908, . . . . .	\$17,057 87
Transferred from Income Account, . . . . .	134 27
	<u>\$17,192 14</u>
CREDIT BALANCE AT NOV. 30, 1909, . . . . .	

(Exhibit "4")

## ENDOWMENT FUND

November 30th, 1909

### INCOME ACCOUNT.

#### RECEIPTS :

Interest on Loan to Building Fund, . . . . .	<u>\$615 00</u>
--	-----------------

#### DISBURSEMENTS :

Transferred to General Fund, . . . . .	<u>\$615 00</u>
--	-----------------

### PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT.

CREDIT BALANCE AT DEC. 31, 1908. . . . .	<u>\$12,320 00</u>
CREDIT BALANCE AT NOV. 30, 1909, . . . . .	<u>\$12,320 00</u>



(Exhibit "5")

## LIFE MEMBERSHIP FUND

November 30th, 1909

### INCOME ACCOUNT

#### RECEIPTS :

Cincinnati Street Railway Dividend, . . . . .	\$261 00	
C. & O. Railway Bond Interest, . . . . .	13 50	
Interest on Deposits, . . . . .	29	
		<u>\$274 79</u>

#### DISBURSEMENTS :

Transferred to General Fund, . . . . .		<u>\$274 79</u>
--	--	-----------------

### PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT

CREDIT BALANCE AT DEC. 1ST, 1908, . . . . .	<u>\$5,037 13</u>
---	-------------------

CREDIT BALANCE AT NOV. 30th, 1909, . . . . .	<u>\$5,037 13</u>
--	-------------------

(No change during year.)

(Exhibit "6")

## JULIUS DEXTER PUBLICATION FUND

November 30th, 1909.

### INCOME ACCOUNT.

Credit Balance at Dec. 1st, 1908, . . . . .	\$198 74
---	----------

#### RECEIPTS :

Cincinnati Street Railway Divdends, . . . . .	\$36 00	
C. L. & N. Railway Bond Interest, . . . . .	4 60	
Interest on Deposits, . . . . .	58	
		<u>41 18</u>

\$239 92

#### DISBURSEMENTS :

Purchase of C. L. & N. Railway Bond, . . . . .	\$224 25	
Interest accrued on same, . . . . .	2 02	
		<u>226 27</u>

CREDIT BALANCE AT NOV. 30, 1909, . . . . .	<u>\$13 65</u>
--	----------------

### PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT.

Credit Balance at Dec. 1st, 1908, . . . . .	\$850 00
---	----------

Purchase of $\frac{2}{10}$ of \$1,000 C. L. & N. Railway Bond, . .	<u>224 25</u>
--	---------------

CREDIT BALANCE AT NOV. 30, 1909, . . . . .	<u>\$1,074 25</u>
--	-------------------

(Increase during year, \$224.25.)



(Exhibit "7")

## E. H. APPLETON MEMORIAL FUND

November 30th, 1909

### INCOME ACCOUNT

Credit Balance at Dec. 1st, 1908, . . . . . \$105 23

#### RECEIPTS:

Cincinnati Street Railway Dividend, . . . . .	\$45 00	
C. H. & D. Railway Bond Interest, . . . . .	135 00	
C. & O. Railway Bond Interest, . . . . .	13 50	
C. L. & N. Railway Bond Interest, . . . . .	2 00	
Interest on Deposits, . . . . .	86	
		<u>196 36</u>
		\$301 59

#### DISBURSEMENTS:

Books Purchased, . . . . .	\$160 93	
C. L. & N. Railway Bond, . . . . .	97 50	
Accrued Interest on same, . . . . .	88	
		<u>259 31</u>
		\$42 28

CREDIT BALANCE AT NOV. 30th, 1909, . . . . .

\$42 28

### PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT

Credit Balance Dec. 1st, 1908, . . . . .	\$4,045 90
Purchase of $\frac{1}{10}$ of C. L. & N. Railway Bond, . . . . .	97 50

CREDIT BALANCE AT NOV. 30th, 1909, . . . . .

\$4,143 40

(Increase during year, \$97.50.)

(Exhibit "8")

## HALSTED NEAVE FUND

November 30th, 1909

### INCOME ACCOUNT.

Credit Balance at Dec. 1st, 1908, . . . . . \$5 30

#### RECEIPTS:

C. L. & N. Railway Bond Interest, . . . . .	\$43 40	
Kentucky Central Railway Bond Interest, . . . . .	20 00	
N. & W. Railway Bond Interest, . . . . .	80 00	
Kineon Coal Co. Bond Interest, . . . . .	50 00	
		<u>193 40</u>
		\$198 70



# DISBURSEMENTS :

C. L. & N. Railway Bonds. . . . .	\$165 75
Accrued Interest, . . . . .	1 49

167 24

CREDIT BALANCE AT NOV. 30th, 1909, . . . .

\$31 46

## PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT.

Credit Balance Dec. 1st, 1908, . . . . .	\$4,242 50
Purchase of $\frac{1}{100}$ of \$1,000 C. L. & N. Railway Bond, . . . . .	165 75

CREDIT BALANCE AT NOV. 30th, 1909, . . . .

\$4,408 25

(Increase during year, \$165.25.)

( Exhibit " 9 " )

## MARGARET RIVES KING FUND

November 30th, 1909

### INCOME ACCOUNT

Credit Balance at December 1st, 1908, . . . . .	\$247 04
---	----------

#### RECEIPTS :

Cincinnati Street Railway Dividend, . . . . .	\$21 00
Kentucky Central Railway Bond Interest, . . . . .	60 00
C. H. & D. Railway Bond Interest, . . . . .	180 00
C. & O. Railway Bond Interest, . . . . .	63 00
C. L. & N. Railway Bond Interest, . . . . .	8 00
Transferred from Principal Account, . . . . .	62 50

394 50

\$641 54

#### DISBURSEMENTS :

Purchases and Expenses, . . . . .	\$288 66
C. L. & N. Railway Bond, . . . . .	190 00
Accrued Interest, . . . . .	2 34

481 00

CREDIT BALANCE AT NOV. 30th, 1909, . . . .

\$160 54

### PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT

Credit Balance at Dec. 1st, 1908, . . . . .	\$8,007 50
Purchase of $\frac{4}{100}$ of \$1,000 C. L. & N. Railway Bond, . . . . .	390 00

390 00

CREDIT BALANCE AT NOV. 30th, 1909, . . . .

\$8,397 50

### LEGACY ACCOUNT

Cash Received Dec. 24, 1908, . . . . .	\$263 67
Purchase of C. L. & N. Railway Bond, . . . . .	\$200 00
Accrued Interest on same, . . . . .	1 17
Transferred to Income Account, . . . . .	62 50

\$263 67

(Increase during year, \$390.00.)





(Exhibit "10")

## COLONIAL DAMES FUND

November 30th, 1909

### INCOME ACCOUNT.

Credit Balance at Dec. 1st, 1908, . . . . .	\$14 73	
RECEIPTS:		
Cincinnati Street Railway Dividend, . . . . .	12 00	
		<u>\$26 73</u>
DISBURSEMENTS:		
Purchase of Books, . . . . .		7 63
		<u>7 63</u>
CREDIT BALANCE AT NOV. 30th, 1909, . . . .		<u>\$19 10</u>

### PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT.

Credit Balance Dec. 1st, 1908, . . . . .	\$200 00
Credit Balance Nov. 30th, 1909, . . . . .	\$200 00
(No change during year.)	

(Exhibit "11")

## BINDING FUND

November 30th, 1909

### INCOME ACCOUNT

Credit Balance at Dec. 1st, 1908, . . . . .	\$100 59	
RECEIPTS:		
Cincinnati Street Railway Dividend, . . . . .	\$30 00	
C. L. & N. Railway Bond Interest, . . . . .	2 00	
E. F. Bliss, . . . . .	40 00	
Interest on Deposits, . . . . .	98	
		<u>72 98</u>
		<u>\$173 57</u>

DISBURSEMENTS:		
Binding, . . . . .	\$67 60	
C. L. & N. Bond, . . . . .	97 50	
Accrued Interest, . . . . .	88	
		<u>165 98</u>
CREDIT BALANCE AT NOV. 30th, 1909, . . . .		<u>\$7 59</u>

### PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT

Credit Balance Dec. 1st, 1908, . . . . .	\$710 14
Purchase of $\frac{10}{100}$ of \$1,000 C. L. & N. Railway Bond, . .	97 50
	<u>97 50</u>
CREDIT BALANCE AT NOV. 30th, 1909, . . . .	<u>\$807 64</u>
(Increase during year, \$97.50.)	



## REPORT OF AUDITOR

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Cincinnati, December 3rd, 1909.

*To the President and Members of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, Cincinnati.*

In accordance with instructions, examination has been made of the books and accounts of The Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio for the year ended November 30th, 1909, and we submit as part of this report the following Schedules, viz.:

*Schedule "A"*—Statement of Assets and Liabilities at November 30th, 1909.

*Schedule "B"*—Statement of Receipts and Disbursements for the year ended November 30th, 1909.

These Schedules are supported by sundry Exhibits showing the principal items contained therein.

Receipts and Disbursements have been examined and found correct and the Cash Balance as shown by the books at date of closing, November 30th, 1909, agrees with the balance on deposit in bank.

Securities as shown by Investment Account have been duly examined and found in accordance with account as shown by Exhibit 1.

The statement of Assets and Liabilities, as shown, represents the financial condition of the Society at date of closing, November 30th, 1909.

Respectfully submitted,

GUY H. KENNEDY,  
*Certified Public Accountant.*



## CORPORATE MEMBERS

---

Anderson, Davis C.	James, Davis L.
Anderson, William H.	Kittredge, Edmund W.
Anderson, Mrs. William P.	Leaman, Mrs. Robert F.
Ault, L. A.	Levy, Harry M.
Balke, Rudolph F.	Longworth, Mrs. Nicholas
Battelle, John G.	Ludlow, William S.
Brunswick, B. H.	McDonald, Alexander
Caldwell, Charles E.	Miller, Griffin T.
Callahan, John R.	Parkinson, George B.
Carew, Joseph T.	Pendleton, Elliott H.
Cist, Charles M.	Procter, William Cooper
Compton, William C.	Procter, Mrs. William Cooper
Dabney, Charles W.	Pyle, E. C.
Dandridge, Miss Mary E.	Ransohoff, Joseph
Davis, Mrs. Nathaniel Henchman	Schmidlapp, J. G.
DeCamp, Walter A.	Shillito, Stewart
Emery, Mrs. Thomas J.	Storer, Bellamy
Foley, B. W.	Strobridge, Nelson W.
Foster, Miss Anna H.	Sykes, Gerrit S.
Foster, William Lytle	Taft, Charles P.
Forchheimer, Mrs. Frederick	Taylor, William W.
Freiberg, Maurice J.	Voorheis, Albert B.
Gano, Mrs. John A.	Whitcomb, Merrick
Goepper, Edward	Wiborg, Frank B.
Greve, Charles Theodore	Wiborg, Mrs. Frank B.
Hamlin, Miss L. Belle	Wilson, Obed J.
Harrison, W. H.	Wilson, Mrs. Obed J.
Hinkle, Frederick W.	Winslow, Howard S.
Hollister, Howard C.	Winslow, John F.
Holmes, John R.	Worthington, Edward
Howe, Mrs. Andrew J.	Worthington, William
Ingalls, M. E.	Wulsin, Lucien



## LIFE MEMBERS

---

Anderson, Mrs. Louise N.	Laws, Miss Annie
Bliss, Eugene F.	Livingood, Charles J.
Bullock, James W.	Neave, Miss Alice
Chatfield, Albert H.	Neave, Miss Jane C.
Chatfield, Mrs. Albert H.	Procter, Harley T.
Davis, Nathaniel Henchman	Storer, Mrs. Bellamy
Fleischmann, Julius	Thomson, Peter G.
Fletcher, Miss Clara B.	Vail, Henry H.
Hurd, E. O.	Walker, Mrs. Paul Francis
Jones, Frank J.	Wilby, Joseph
Jones, Mrs. Frank J.	Woods, Harry F.

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## CORRESPONDING MEMBERS

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Adams, Charles Francis	Hayes, E. G.
Cox, Isaac J.	Heath, William McK.
Duro, Cesario F.	Hoyt, Albert H.
Foulke, William Dudley	Thwaites, Reuben Gold
Galbreath, Charles P.	Tyson, Philip T.
Green, Samuel A.	

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## HONORARY MEMBERS

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Durrett, Reuben T.	Venable, William H
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## DIED

- Mrs. Charles W. Baker, December 15th, 1908.  
Mr. Daniel Henry Holmes, December 15th, 1908.





Quarterly Publication of the His-  
torical and Philosophical  
Society of Ohio

Vol. V, No. 1  
JANUARY-MARCH

Brief Accounts of  
Journeys in the Western Country, 1809-1812.

CINCINNATI, OHIO



## CONTENTS.

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- I. Tour of Mobile, Pensacola, &c., by Peyton Short of Kentucky, in 1809. Account enclosed in letter to Hon. Henry Clay.
- II. Tour to Fort St. Stephens, Fort Stoddert, and Pensacola, by Peyton Short, described in letter to Dr. Frederick Ridgely, 1809.
- III. Journey to Lexington, Ky., by James McBride of Hamilton, Ohio, related in letter to Margaret Poe, 1810.
- IV. Voyage down the Mississippi river to New Orleans, during the period of the New Madrid earthquake, by James McBride, described in letter to Mary McRoberts, 1812.



## PEYTON SHORT.

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Major Peyton Short, the writer of the following descriptions of journeys through a portion of the Mississippi territory, made by him in 1809, was the second son of William Short and Lady Elizabeth Skipwith, born December 17, 1761, in Spring Garden, Surry County, Virginia. His elder brother, William, born in 1757, was the early American Diplomat of that name.

In 1787, when about 27 years of age, Peyton Short married Maria, daughter of Judge John Cleves Symmes, and three years later moved with his family into Kentucky, where he was elected soon after to the first State Senate, 1792-96. Influenced by the mania for land speculation which was prevalent at that time throughout the United States, he became the owner of thousands of acres of "pioneer lands" in Kentucky and Ohio. Among other tracts, he purchased from Judge Symmes a section in Cincinnati, which received the name of "Short Square"; a portion of this was subsequently owned by his brother William.

His wife died in 1801, leaving three children: Charles Wilkins Short became a physician, and married Mary Churchill; John Cleves Short, a lawyer and jurist of Cincinnati, who married Betsey Basset Harrison, daughter of William Henry Harrison and his wife Anna Symmes; and a daughter Anna. About 1803 Peyton Short married second Mrs. Jane Churchill, widow of Armistead Churchill, and sister of Col. James Henry of New Jersey. By this wife (who died in 1808-09) there were three daughters: Jane, Elizabeth, and Sarah.

During these years in Kentucky, he sustained very large financial losses owing principally to his extensive speculations in land, and when he went into the Mississippi territory in 1809, it was with the hope of retrieving his fortune. Consequently his own interest led him to observe keenly all that was presented to his view, and to make his notes clear and explicit for his own use in the future. He returned to Kentucky after several years and died in Christian County September 1, 1825.



The paper bearing title "Tour to Mobile, Pensacola, &c." contains a vivid description of that southern section regarding the climate, soil, scenery, condition of the inhabitants, commercial possibilities, etc., and it was forwarded to the Hon. Henry Clay, for his use, during the time the question of the occupancy of West Florida by the United States was under consideration in both Houses of Congress, and, when Mr. Clay made an extended speech in favor of such occupation. (Annals of Congress, 11th Cong. 3d Sess. p. 55.)

This manuscript was presented to the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, by Mr. Charles W. Short, son of Judge John Cleves Short and grandson of Major Peyton Short. The Society is further indebted to him for permitting the publication, in this Quarterly, of the additional account of Pensacola, &c., contained in the letter addressed to Dr. Ridgeley, and for the privilege of examining various family letters and papers.

L. BELLE HAMLIN.





# I.

## TOUR TO MOBILE, PENSACOLA, &c.

*Sunday, Nov.<sup>r</sup> 12th 1809.* Left Melton's about 12 O'clock in Company with Capt.<sup>1</sup> John Johnson, who with three other men are about to take seven pack-horse loads of powder to the settlements on the Mobile, and proceed from thence westwardly, on a trace nearly parallel to the Tennessee river, and not more, upon a medium, than two miles distant therefrom, to a water course a short distance from a small Indian hamlet. We here encamped, and having no other shelter than such as we could make by stretching our blankets over a half-faced tent, suffered much from a succession of heavy rains that fell during the night. Melton is an old Indian trader, living with his family (who are of the Cherokee nation) and several other families of the same tribe, on the south side of the Tennessee river, at the head of the Muscle Shoals. There are few situations more beautiful than this. His buildings are erected on a high bluff, which gives you a commanding view of the river, at this place three miles wide. Below you have a view of a series of small islands beginning about a mile from Melton's and continuing as far as the eye can extend below. Above, at the distance of about three or four miles the eye is delighted with the prospect of a large and fertile island containing about 6000 acres of land, all of which is of the richest quality, and at present covered with lofty timber and the most luxuriant cane. The cane here grows fully twenty feet high, and nearly from one to two inches in diameter. The horizon to the North is terminated by a prospect of those distant mountains which separate the waters of the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers. The Country back forms almost a perfect plane, and the lands of a very fertile quality, being covered with hickory, oak, poplar, black walnut, &c.

*13th.*—Having spent some time this morning in drying our clothes, blankets, &c., we proceeded on our journey through a chain of Indian settlements for about six miles and continuing our course for about fourteen miles further, encamped in a bot-

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<sup>1</sup>Heitman, in Hist. Register of the U. S. Army, mentions John Johnson, of Pennsylvania, as Captain of 5th Infantry in 1809, and Major of 21st Infantry in 1813. Died Dec. 11, 1813.



tom of wet swampy ground, where for the want of any kind of running stream, we were obliged to make use of the water which fell during the rains of the preceding night. The country through which we this day travelled is generally of pretty good quality, excepting the Indian settlements, where the lands appear much exhausted by a long succession of injudicious tillage; their principal crop being Indian corn, and the indolence of those people inducing them to prefer the cultivation of their old lands to the labour of clearing the new.

*14th.*—We pursued our journey early in the morning, & having travelled about twenty miles through much the same kind of country as that which I have just described, encamped on a pleasant spot of ground, well watered and with a tolerable supply of cane for our horses.

*15th.*—Capt. Johnson & myself, having this morning preceded the party, reached Levi Colbert's<sup>2</sup> on the Natchez road, after riding about five or six miles from our last night's encampment. Having breakfasted at this place we proceeded on our journey & crossing Bear-Creek, ascended the high lands, which separate the waters of the Tennessee from those of the Mobile, & encamped on a mountain. In the course of this day's journey we passed through a considerable settlement of Chickasaw Indians,—the lands in general of good quality—growth principally of hickory and oak, until you reach Bear-Creek, after passing which you soon begin to ascend the high lands above mentioned, which are poor and principally covered with pine:—Levi Colbert is the son of a Scotchman of the same name, his mother a Chickasaw Indian. He is about 50 years of age & is very comfortably situated at a place called the Buzzard's roost, on a small water course which empties into Bear-Creek. He has at this place a large well cultivated farm, about 30 or 40 likely slaves and a white overseer to superintend them—a good stock of cattle and hogs. He keeps a Public house in a large frame building & affords very tolerable accommodations; & as many travellers on their road to and from N. Orleans, Natchez, &c. call on him, he through that medium obtains an ample market for his superfluous produce. Colbert is one of the chiefs of the Chickasaw nation, and a very respectable intelligent man;—he

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<sup>2</sup>Levi Colbert, the celebrated Chickasaw Chief mentioned in Pickett's Hist. of Alabama, Vol. II, p. 187.



appears to contemplate with much satisfaction the amelioration of the condition of his countrymen. In a conversation with me on the subject of the superior advantages of the agricultural to the hunter state he made a very impressive illustration of his ideas on that subject. "Formerly" (said he), "when impelled by hunger, I was obliged to set out with my gun on my shoulder in quest of the uncertain product of the chase—I returned sometimes loaded with a superabundance of wild meats, the greater part of which would become putrid before it could be consumed; and at another time I would be compelled to fast whole days for the want of necessary sustenance. Such is the uncertain life of the hunter. But now when I want a bear I order my people to kill a hog. If I desire a buffaloe, a fat bullock immediately presents itself to my view, and the fertile soil yields an abundant return to the labour of the industrious husbandman."

*16th.*—This morning five of our horses having strayed from our camp, a considerable part of the day was lost in searching for them. They were at length found about five miles back at the house of an Indian, who returning with the men, sent in pursuit of the horses, demanded a dollar for stopping each of them. After passing 10 or 12 miles on the Natchez road over several bold streams, being the North Eastern sources of the Tombeckbee [Tombigbee], we reached an Indian habitation, where we were kindly received, & supplied on reasonable terms, with provender for our horses and some provisions for ourselves.

*17th.*—Having travelled 5 or 6 miles this morning over a rugged, mountainous & in some places a very swampy road, we reached the house of a half Indian by the name of James Browne, who keeps a tavern on the Natchez road about 42 miles S. W. of Colbert's ferry on Tennessee river. At this place the trace, which leads to the American settlements on the Tombeckbee, to Pensacola &c., turns off to the left from the Natchez road. This is the first time that we have varied our course since we left the Muscle Shoals, having generally travelled hitherto in a westwardly direction. On this trace we pursued our journey about 12 miles further and encamped on a considerable creek, a branch of the Tombeckbee.

*18th.*—Having made this day a journey of about 20 miles, we reached McGilveray's<sup>3</sup> [McGillivray], a Chickasaw hamlet of

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<sup>3</sup>Descendants of the Scotchman, Lachlan McGillivray.



about 10 or 12 families. The men were all out upon a hunting party; but we got of McGilveray's wife and daughters corn, bacon, chickens, &c. on reasonable terms. The highlands from Browne's to this place may be called pretty good cotton lands. The bottoms [are] not of the most fertile quality, & rather too wet, the growth of the former hickory, oak, dogwood, &c.—of the latter principally white oak, some sugar maple & sassafras.

*19th, 20th & 21st.*—Having travelled sixty miles over a country for the most part very fertile, we reached Pitchelin's, & having purchased some corn for our horses & provisions for ourselves, we pursued our course about 5 miles & encamped on the 21st on the margin of a very abundant cane brake. Pitchelin lives within a quarter of a mile of the main Tombeckbee river, & on the edge of an extensive & fertile prairie.—He is a very intelligent and respectable white man with an Indian family. He is in very good circumstances, possessing many slaves, horses, and cattle. He informed me that his father was a Scotchman & an Indian trader, that he took him into the Chickasaw nation when he was very young, about the commencement of the American war, and his father dying in that country he was brought up almost entirely by the Indians. He speaks very good English, is a man of excellent understanding & in manners & appearance may be said to be a gentleman. He has always had the confidence of every Indian Agent that has ever been employed in that country by the American government, & is a great favorite & a man of influence throughout the Choctaw nation, & no man stands in higher credit at Pensacola & Mobile. He has a son whom he has educated in some public seminary in East Tennessee, who is employed with a very liberal salary, as an Interpreter in the U. States factory at St. Stephens. From McGilveray's to Pitchelin's, the lands are generally extremely fertile, and abounding in the most extensive and beautiful prairies.

*22d, 23d, 24th.*—After a journey of fifty five miles over a handsome prairie country interspersed with groves of timber, & intersected with bottoms covered with cane, we reached Starnes'. This country is for the most part badly watered, as far as a traveller can judge from appearances on the road. Starnes is a white man, a native of New England, & has also an Indian wife with three or four children. He is a blacksmith by profession & tells me that he worked sometime in the city of New York, where he





enlisted as a soldier & joined Wayne's army at Cincinnati. Having afterwards descended the Mississippi his term of service expired while he was stationed at Fort Adams; and that he was there employed by the Indian agent for the Choctaw nation to prosecute his trade in that country. I found him also a very intelligent, communicative & obliging man. I forgot to mention in the proper place that we crossed Tibia Creek, which is the northern boundary between the Choctaws and Chickasaws, about a mile before we reached Pitchelin's. We breakfasted at Starnes' & pursuing our journey about 10 miles further, again encamped on the edge of a very fine Cane-brake. Having also purchased of some of the Indians, whose habitations we passed, a sufficient supply of corn, venison & sweet-potatoes, both our horses and ourselves fared very well.

*25th, 26th, 27th.*—On these days we travelled over a delightfully watered country, but its face generally mountainous and the soil poor. We passed through several Choctaw hamlets. The natives miserably poor. By them we were supplied with corn, ground peas, some venison & other meats. On one of the mountains about 20 miles S. W. of Starnes', we discovered a large quantity of Iron ore, which appeared to be of excellent quality; and streams conveniently situated as well for forges as furnaces. On the 27th aforesaid we reached the house of Charles Duzant, a Creole of West Florida by birth & of French parentage. He is an Indian trader and married to a good looking woman of the *half-breed* as they call them, her father a Spaniard & her mother a genuine Choctaw. Duzant is an honest, industrious, money-making man. He keeps a very good house of accommodation for the country he lives in. Although we got to this place to breakfast we concluded to spend the day here. I mean Johnson & myself. We therefore sent the pack-horse men forward.

*28th.*—Left Duzant this morning and overtook the pack-horse drivers in the evening at their encampment about 30 miles in advance. The land through which we passed this day grew much better and is extremely well watered.

*29th.*—This day left Capt. Johnson and his party, & in company with a Mr. Moore a post rider, who had overtaken us at Duzant's, proceeded 45 miles to Shaw's, the first white settlement between the state of Tennessee and the Tombecbee.



There is a considerable variety of soil between our last encampment and this place.

*December 2nd.*—Having remained at Shaw's two days, the first from choice, & the second from necessity arising from the badness of the weather, I left that place in the morning & reached Fort St. Stephens in the evening of the same day, about 25 miles. There is a considerable quantity of good land in the neighborhood of Shaw's, principally of the prairie character; as also in detached parcels on the road between Shaw's and St. Stephens, and the interjacent country [is] pretty well settled, considering its infancy. The boundary line, between the lands purchased by the U. States and those still held by the Choctaw Indians, crosses the road about 40 miles north of St. Stephens. I might add, in addition to what I have said with regard to the character of the land through which I have passed, that the Tombeckbee, throughout its whole course, waters an extensive body of the most fertile low grounds, covered with cane of the largest growth, & abounding in red oak, white oak, sassafras of immense growth & various other kinds of valuable timber, amongst which I must not omit the black or flowering locust. The same may be said of the Alabama & many of the important branches, which empty into that as well as the Tombeckbee river. In the neighborhood of St. Stephens there lies an extensive body of fertile lands, on the east side of the Tombeckbee, on a creek called Bassets Creek. St. Stephens lies on a high elevated bluff on the Tombeckbee, a little below the 32nd degree of North Latitude, & as it is at the head of the tide water of that river, & not only has the character, but the appearance of a healthful situation, it must necessarily become a place of considerable consequence. At present it contains but a few houses & a small population, but that population of a respectable character.

*Dec. 4th.*—Left St. Stephens; and after travelling about 30 miles over a poor, piny and but thinly inhabited country, reached McIntosh's<sup>4</sup> bluff, at the house of a Mr. Johnson,<sup>5</sup> an old Settler of this country, & a wealthy planter, by whom I was very

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<sup>4</sup>McIntosh Bluff is situated upon the western bank of Tombigby, between its confluence with the Alabama and the town of St. Stephens.

<sup>5</sup>The first American Court in Alabama was held at McIntosh Bluff, 1803, and *John Johnson*, with two others, presided. Cf. *Pickett's Hist. of Alabama*, Vol. II, p. 198.



hospitably received. On my road to this place I dined at the country town of Washington, a poor miserable place, filled with the lowest kind of Southern horse racers and sharpers.

*Dec. 5th.*—Proceeded 10 miles further to Ft. Stoddert,<sup>6</sup> which lies on the Mobile river about four miles below the junction of the Tombbeckbee and Alabama rivers, & seven above the line of the Spanish territory. Remaining eight or ten days at Judge Toulmin's<sup>7</sup> in the neighborhood of Ft. Stoddert and on the

*15th.*—Set out in company with the Judge on a visit to Pensacola. We dined at the house of a Mrs. Hollinger, a wealthy and hospitable widow, and crossing the Tombbeckbee and Alabama in the evening of the same day reached the house of the Messrs. Pierces<sup>8</sup> living on the eastern bank of the last mentioned river. Between the Tombbeckbee and Alabama rivers the land is extremely fertile, being entirely bottom land & the upper end of Nannahabba island, which at this place is eight miles wide. On the road we passed through two extensive cotton plantations. The Messrs. Peirces emigrated about 20 years ago from one of the New England States and have acquired a handsome fortune by commerce.

*17th.*—Left the Messrs. Peirces, and after travelling about 100 miles in a South eastern direction across the river Perdido & several handsome rivulets, and having passed several *Cow-herd* establishments, we reached Pensacola about 12 o'Clock on the twentieth December. This road throughout its whole extent runs through an extremely sterile country covered with one general

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<sup>6</sup>Fort Stoddert was situated upon a bluff below the confluence of the Tombigby and Alabama Rivers, on the *site of the present Mt. Vernon, Ala.* Cf. Pickett's Hist. of Ala., Vol. II, p. 179.

<sup>7</sup>Hon. Harry Toulmin, born in Taunton, Eng., 1766, was pastor of a Unitarian church in 1788. He came to Virginia and the next year became President of the Transylvania University of Lexington, Ky. He was Secretary of the State of Kentucky for eight years; studied law, and compiled a code of laws for the State. In 1804 was appointed Judge of the Superior Court for the benefit of the settlements along Tombigby river, at which time he removed to a cantonment near Fort Stoddert. Cf. Pickett's Hist. of Ala., Vol. II, pp. 204-5.

<sup>8</sup>William and his brother John Pierce, from New England about 1800, established a cotton gin at the Boat Yard upon Lake Tensaw. The latter started the first American school in Alabama at the Boat Yard. Cf. Pickett's Hist. of Ala., Vol. II, pp. 189-190.



forest of Pine. The town of Pensacola lies on a bay of the same name, about seven miles from the gulph of Mexico, & contains something more than 300 houses & a population of between 2 & 3000 souls. It appears to be growing very fast, but I can see no permanent source of improvement. The seat of government for West Florida having been sometime fixed at this place, and a military establishment of about one thousand troops, added to the consideration of the beauty and healthfulness of its situation have hitherto conspired to invigorate its growth; but take away the two first named causes of its improvement, and the latter I apprehend will not be sufficient to support it. The country around is but thinly inhabited. The market therefore is principally supplied from N. Orleans and the American settlements on the Tombecbee. They sometimes receive a partial supply of flour from La Vera Cruz. Their chickens and wild meats are supplied by the Indians; and the butchers procure their beef from the different *Cow-pens* throughout the country. I found beef the only cheap article in this place. Every thing sold uncommonly high. Chickens at one dollar each. Bacon from 25 to 50 cents per lb. Flour 20\$ per barrel. Sweet potatoes 2\$ per bushel. Pumpkins from 37 1-2 to 50 cents each. Turnips 6 1-4 cents each. Milk one dollar per quart. Eggs one dollar per dozen, and every other article in proportion. I here speak of the retail prices at which the inhabitants, who are the Consumers, purchase them. The traders, who at N. Orleans or elsewhere purchase these articles, of course must make a handsome profit; they sell out by wholesale to hucksters, who retail at the enormous advance I have just mentioned.—The lands lying in the neighborhood of Pensacola are miserably poor, excepting the bottoms of the river Escambia which puts into the bay of Pensacola a few miles above the town which are said to be both fertile and extensive. We remained at Pensacola two days and returned to Fort Stoddert on the 24th.

31st.—On the Evening of this day left Ft. Stoddert in company with one of the officers of that garrison, & set out in a Perogue on a visit to the town of Mobile, which we reached on the day following. On our way we passed a continued chain of large and fertile islands, some of them containing upwards of ten thousand acres of land, overgrown with cane of monstrous





size & all those various kinds of timber, which are indicative of a fertile soil. It is supposed that between the confluence of the Tombeckbee & Alabama rivers & the town of Mobile, there is not less than one million of acres of this kind of land. The high lands from St. Stephens to the Gulph of Mexico are extremely sterile in every direction; but covered with lofty pines, which must necessarily at no distant day be a source of immense profit to this Country. I had nearly forgotten to mention that the bottom & island lands, lying between Fort Stoddert and Mobile and in many places covered with large bodies of live-oak, said to be the most valuable species of timber for ship-building. The town of Mobile stands in a most beautiful situation on the bay of Mobile—It contains about 150 houses, & a population of between 7 & 800 souls, & a garrison of between 3 & 400 troops. This place or some other town on the bay of Mobile must at some future day, for many very good reasons, become one of the largest & wealthiest seaports in North America.

From what has already been observed in regard to the topographical character of the country embraced within the limits of the above journal, the objects which would present themselves to the view of such persons as might wish to migrate to that quarter, might readily be inferred.—The rich lands within the American line are well adapted to the culture of cotton, rice, indigo, Indian corn, tobacco; and I have no doubt but flax and hemp might be cultivated to an advantage, at least in the upper part of that country. From partial trials which have been made on a small scale in the neighborhood of St. Stephens in the cultivation of wheat, the result has been favourable. From the Florida line to the entrance of the bay of Mobile into the gulph of Mexico the lands are nearly of the same description as from thence to St. Stephens; the highlands extremely poor, but the bottoms in general rich and extensive. Below this line it is presumed that the sugar cane might be cultivated to considerable advantage. Most of the highlands being intersected with streams well calculated for mills, the pine-timber growing on them, might be made a source of great profit by the erection of saw-mills; for the product of which there would be a growing demand not only in the country already mentioned, but likewise at New Orleans, the Havanna, as well as West India islands generally. Within these limits also tar, pitch & turpentine might



be made to an indefinite amount & would become a source of great commercial profit not only to the manufacturer, but the country likewise. And these pine lands afford an inexhaustible forage for cattle, which are raised in innumerable herds, without any other attention but that of cutting & marking the calves once a year. Many persons, particularly in West Florida raise from 2 to 10,000 head without the necessity of providing any winter provender for them. And these herds of cattle might, with good husbandry, be made useful in the improvement of the barren lands, which in general afford a good foundation for manure. Here also, at a period not very remote, the business of ship-building will be in all probability carried on to great advantage; as not only the live-oak but every other species of timber necessary for that purpose, abounds in this country, & in addition to the tar, pitch, & turpentine, there is no doubt, as I have already said but that hemp would grow in great perfection, at least in the upper parts of the country. Iron, in the first commencement of the business could either be brought from the Atlantic States, or the Western country by the way of N. Orleans, or from Eastern Tennessee by the way of the Hiwassee & Alabama rivers. The latter would in all probability be the cheapest channel. But in the interior of the Mississippi Territory as I have already mentioned there are large and very flattering appearances of Iron ore, which no doubt could be worked to advantage. I might also add to the list of resources, which this country possesses, the article of Pork, which in the upper parts of the territory might be raised to any amount, from the inexhaustible quantity of mast, which is afforded by the extensive forests of oak and hickory, with which that part of the country abounds—The whole of this country is no doubt well adapted to the culture of the different kinds of fruit to which the climate may be congenial. The apple tree would flourish in the northern parts of that country, the peach throughout the whole extent; & from the great variety of the most excellently flavoured grapes which grow spontaneously in every quarter, reason and observation in regard to the other climates of the world would point out this as one of the promising sections of the American continent for the culture of the vine. Below the 31st degree of North latitude figs and oranges grow in great perfection; and it is presumed that the olive would grow as well below that line



as in any of the regions of the western hemisphere in which that valuable tree is said to flourish.

Dr Sir,

Since putting into your hands my reflections on the subject of the Mobile navigation &c, I have thought that it might be in my power to afford you some information in regard to the country through which that navigation would pass; and with that view have sent you the above extract from my Journal of the town, wch I made in the years 1809, & 1810. Should the remarks, which I have made on that subject afford you any additional intelligence beyond what you already possess, I shall be happy in having communicated it to you; if not, I pray you to excuse the trouble, which I shall have given you in the perusal of the foregoing sheets.

In the course of my observations on the resources of that country I forgot to mention the important articles in the commercial World—I mean Staves & Heading (and many others no doubt, have been pretermitted, which might have been mentioned) with which that country could supply the World; as the white Oak, of immense Bulk, forms one of the principal growths on the bottoms of the Tombeckbee & Alabama Rivers, as well as the wet low-grounds of other streams emptying into those Rivers, and I may also add, of all the most fertile high lands.

It will afford me great pleasure to hear from you whenever you make it convenient to write to me—I probably may descend the Mississippi this winter—If I should, Mr. Wilkins will know where to forward any communications with which you may be so good as to favor me.

I am Dr Sir, Your friend &c,

PEYTON SHORT.

Lexington—Octr. 21st, 1811.

The Honble. Henry Clay,<sup>9</sup> Esquire

Member of the House of Representatives of the U. States,  
City of Washington.

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<sup>9</sup>See p. 4 of this publication.



## II.

### TOUR TO FORT ST. STEPHENS, FORT STODDERT, AND PENSACOLA.

Fort Stoddert—22nd Decr. 1809.

Dear Sir,

About the first of this month I wrote both to you & Mr. Wilkins<sup>10</sup> from Fort St. Stephens requesting the favor of you to address an answer not only to that letter but also to all my preceding letters to me at this place.....

A few days after my last letter, I arrived at this place where I unexpectedly met with two old acquaintances, Judge Toulmin,<sup>11</sup> & a Mr. Wilson Carman (nephew to Katherine Wilson's<sup>12</sup> father.) These gentlemen as well as the officers of Fort Stoddert have been extremely hospitable & polite to me ever since my arrival in this quarter, and I cannot omit expressing my very great obligation to Colo. Sparks<sup>13</sup> the Commanding Officer at this place. He has indeed been as kind to me as a brother. He speaks with great friendship & regard of Mr. Wilkins, says that he has a son at school in Lexington under his patronage. I was extremely sorry it was not in my power to give the Colo. any certain account of his son, although I had a faint recollection of either seeing him at Mr. Wilkins', or hearing him or my sister speak of him.

On the day before yesterday I returned from a tour to Pensacola about 100 miles distant from this place in Company with Judge Toulmin. This is a place more calculated for the healthfulness of its situation than any other spot in America. It was there observed that whilst Great-Britain held her Colonies on the Continent of America that there were fewer cases of sickness

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<sup>10</sup>Charles Wilkins of Lexington, married a sister of Peyton Short. Family papers.

<sup>11</sup>See note 6 of the *Quarterly*.

<sup>12</sup>Katherine (Henry) Wilson, a sister of the second wife of Peyton Short. Fam. papers.

<sup>13</sup>Richard Sparks of Pennsylvania, was Captain, 1791; Major, 1806; Lieut. Col., 1812; and honorably discharged from U. S. Army June 15, 1815, and died same year. Cf. Expedition of Zebulon M. Pike, ed. by E. Coues, p. 412.





or Death reported from the Garrison at that place in proportion to its numbers than from any other military establishment, which they held in the new-world. Perhaps there could be no better Criterion, by which to form a judgment on this subject. The Scite of the town of Pensacola is supposed to be one of the handsomest in the World. I for my part never beheld so delightful a Water prospect as the Bay on which it lies & the distant view of the Ocean, which presents itself to the eye by faint sketches through a long & narrow Island, which lies at the entrance into the Bay about nine miles from the Town. The back-ground as to its manner of lying is correspondently beautiful, being in the first place an extensive plain about half a mile in width, & bounded in its whole extent by an elevated ground about 100 feet above the level of the plain. This high ground is indented here & there with projecting promontories on one of which are the remains of two antient fortifications which have no small effect, in adding to the magnificence of the scene. But there is one thing yet wanting to complete its beauties, particularly in the eye of a man so long accustomed to behold the fertile Soil of the Western Country. It cannot boast an inch of soil capable of producing an herb or plant for the support of man or beast. One continued bed of sand composes the Scite of the Town as well as the back-ground as far as the eye can extend, covered here & there with a starved Shrub, save only a narrow swamp of about one hundred yards in width running back of the Town—not a foot however of which has ever been reclaimed by the lazy Spaniard, and it was observed to me by Mr. Forbes, a principal Merchant in that place that there never would have been a road made across that swamp, had it not been done in the time the British held the Floridas by that more industrious Class of People. Nothing could have painted their Indolence in more striking Colors, as all that was wanting to effect this object was the Carting as much sand over the ground as would make a firm and solid road, which an American Farmer would have been able to do in the course of a Week. This swamp merely from the name might be supposed to be the Mother of fevers, but there is not one cause existing within its bosom to produce this effect, it being formed by a number of excellent Springs, which keep the whole surface constantly covered with the purest Water, from which the sun



in his fullest rays can never draw a single particle of putrid matter.

Judge Toulmin & myself counted the number of houses in this place, & found it to contain about 300. The town is now growing very fast & from what we could learn as well as the observations we were able to make, there have been more houses built therein within the course of 3 or 4 years back than perhaps for a half Century before. This is the first place I ever saw, where Money is of less value than any other Species of Property. There is nothing wch at this place will not command a ten-fold higher price than I ever heard of before; a Midling-sized pumpkin there readily commands three bits or 37 1-2 Cents, a turnip half a bit or 6 1-4 Cents of a size not larger than an apple. Sweet Potatoes \$2.50 per bushel; Indian Corn 4 dollars per Spanish Barrel of 3 bushels; indifferent flour from 25 to 30\$ per barrel, and every other Article of provision in the same proportion.....

The population of this place consists entirely of pensioners on the King of Spain, a small military establishment of about 600 men, & subjects, who are dependent on the other two descriptions of men, such as Shop-Keepers, Keepers of what in the Spanish tongue they call Fondas & Casasettas, the former corresponding to the Hucksters of Sau'ges (?) Onions Potatoes Turnips &c., & the latter to the Keepers of Grog Shops—both of which are common in most of the Towns of the U. States. Not a decent Tavern or boarding house is to be found in the whole place, and indeed we should have been put to our shifts for any kind of accommodation had it not been for the hospitality of Mr. Forbes,<sup>14</sup> a wealthy merchant of the place, who was so good as to invite us to his house which is a kind of Palace, where he lives like a Prince. This Gentleman informs me that in the year 1797 he was at my house in Woodford in Company with yourself & Mr. Wilkins, but I cannot recollect having ever seen him there. It is probable that he made the visit whilst I was absent from home, but having before I saw him heard that he should have [sic] said that he was acquainted with me, & appearing readily to recognize me on calling on me, I did not know

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<sup>14</sup>John Forbes, son of James and Sarah (Gordon) Forbes of Scotland, was of the mercantile firm of Forbes, Pantou & Leslie; the firm changed to John Forbes & Co. Cf. Colonial Mobile, by Hamilton, Ch. XXXV.



how to express doubt of our former acquaintance. This Gentleman is now the Principal of a Firm, which once went under the name of Pantón,<sup>15</sup> Lessley<sup>16</sup> & Co., who for a long time having had the monopoly of the Indian trade in East & West Florida (it is said) have amassed a large fortune. Pantón<sup>16</sup> & Lessley,<sup>16</sup> being both dead, the firm now bears the name of Forbes & Co., they have an Establishment at Mobile, Pensacola, & St. Augustine.

The Country between this place & Pensacola is all extremely sterile, being almost entirely covered with Pine, well calculated, however, for the Lumber business, & for tar Pitch & Turpentine. The Streams intersecting it are well calculated for Saw-Mills.—Both branches of the Perdido particularly, which are bold & never failing streams and but a short distance from the Sea. We lodged one night at Governor Folch's<sup>17</sup> Saw-Mills, on our return from Pensacola, about 18 miles N. E. thereof on a branch of the Exambia (Escambia) & about a quarter of a mile distant from that River, down which the Plank & Scantling cut at said Mills are floated into the Bay of Pensacola, & although there are but two Saws, such is the amazing price of Plank & Scantling, that the Manager informed me that those Mills on some days yielded a net profit of 100 dollars.

In my last letter I gave you some acct. of the lands which I had passed through between the Tennessee River & St. Stephens on the Tombeckbee. I will now say a word in regard to the Country lying between Fort St. Stephens and this place. There are but two species of land from St. Stephens, I may say, to the Bay of Mobile, viz: the high lands, which are extremely poor, and covered with pine, & the low grounds on the Rivers, which are in general rich, the wet lands well calculated for Rice & the dry Cane-broken low grounds capable of producing large Crops of Corn & Cotton, & in the neighbourhood of the Town of Mobile, from the small experiments, which have been made, no doubt well adapted to the Culture of the Sugar-Cane. The poor high lands are covered with heavy pines & intersected with streams well calculated for Saw-Mills—& these lands have

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<sup>15</sup> and <sup>16</sup> William Pantón and John Leslie were Scotchmen.

<sup>17</sup>At this time (1810) Governor Vicente Folch was stationed at Pensacola and ruled both the Floridas for the Spaniards. Cf. Phelps' "Louisiana", p. 248.



another advantage which the poor lands of the Eastern States have not. From the immense herds of Cattle, which are raised in these woods upon the herbage, which Nature affords & the Winter never destroys, they have an immense source of Manure. Most of the Herdsmen hold upwards of 1000 Head of Cattle, & some from 7 to 10,000 head, which never require a pint of salt, or a blade of Winter provender. I had nearly forgot to mention that the river Mobile from the Bay to some distance above the Confluence of the Tombuckbee & Alabama Rivers are filled with a continued chain of Islands for the most part extremely fertile, and some of which containing from ten to twenty thousand acres.

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Your friend & Hble Svt.,

P. S.

[Peyton Short.]

Dr. Frederick Ridgely,<sup>18</sup>  
via New Orleans, Lexington, Kentucky.

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<sup>18</sup>Dr. Frederick Ridgely married a sister of Peyton Short. Ranck's Hist. of Lexington, p. 44, states that he was professor of medicine in Transylvania University. That he had been surgeon to a Virginia rifle corps in the Revolutionary army when nineteen years old, moved to Kentucky in 1780; was one of the founders of the medical college.





## JAMES McBRIDE.

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James McBride, son of James and Margaret (McRoberts) McBride of Franklin County, Pennsylvania, came into the western country in 1806, at the age of seventeen years, and the following letters, written four or five years after his arrival, furnish an interesting description of his *early* impressions regarding the general appearance and character of the newly settled country, and, of the primitive condition of pioneer life at that period. These letters form a part of the James McBride manuscripts in the possession of the Society.

In a previous Quarterly (Vol. IV, No. 1) is a brief sketch of his life, and a more extended biographical account by his daughter, Laura McBride Stembel, appears in McBride's "Pioneer Biography" published soon after his death in 1859.

L. B. H.



### III.

## JOURNEY TO LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY.

Dear Peggy:<sup>1</sup>

Hamilton, July 22<sup>d</sup>, 1810.

You have been good enough to encourage me to write to you, and (as you flatteringly express it) "communicate anything which I think might amuse you." This I consider one of the greatest privileges and comforts which I enjoy in this place, and feel disposed to engage in it and amuse myself in this way, in which, I fear you sometimes find me dull and tedious. As I at present feel a strong inclination to enjoy that pleasure I must indulge in it, although I have nothing better to entertain you with than an account of an excursion which I lately made into the State of Kentucky, from whence I have returned a few days since.

1810—Wednesday, June . . . . I left Hamilton, [Ohio] in the morning on horseback and rode to Cincinnati where I remained during the night.

Thursday, June. . . . Early in the morning I crossed the Ohio river and proceeded on my way to Lexington. Travelled twenty miles to Gaines' tavern where I breakfasted, although it was then late in the forenoon, after which I rode forward to Arnold's tavern where I arrived at 6 O'clock in the evening and took lodgings for the night. The road by which I travelled is called the Ridge-Road, so called on account of its being laid out on a ridge of high ground known by the name of the Dry ridge, on which, in travelling the direction I went, you do not meet with a drop of running water for a distance of forty-five miles. The road was very good which, in consequence of the highness of the ground and nature of the soil, I presume must generally be the case. Of the entertainment which I met with at the Inns on my way I cannot boast so much as of the road. The soil of the country is poor, and its appearance by nature none of the pleasantest, nor have the inhabitants greatly improved it by works of art. They are settled along the road at intervals of eight or ten miles from each other. They told me that there were no

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<sup>1</sup>Margaret Poe, daughter of James Poe, of Greencastle, Pa.; she married James Campbell. Cf. Letters of Jane McRoberts in the James McBride Mss.

<sup>2</sup>It was on Dryridge, Ky., that the writer's father, James McBride, was killed by the Indians in 1789.



settlements off from the road to the right or left for a long distance, consequently the nearest neighbour which some of them have is ten miles distant. They live by cultivating a small farm and furnishing entertainment to travellers—consisting of new whiskey and a liquid called tea or coffee, but which I was not able to determine—and for which they never fail to demand an adequate price. But I fancy you have heard enough of poor mountain ridges and miserable Inns, so I shall advance on my journey to the fertile country beyond, whither, if you please, I shall be proud if you will accompany me.

Friday....Set out early in the morning and rode fifteen miles to Nelson's tavern at the south extremity of the Dry ridge, called the foot of the ridge where I breakfasted and continued my journey to Georgetown where I arrived at 3 O'clock, P. M. and sat down to an excellent dinner.

Georgetown is a pleasant place situated on the south side of the North fork of Elkhorn Creek & is the seat of justice for Scott County. It contains a frame Court house and I suppose about eighty houses, about twenty of which are brick and look very neat. As to the particulars of the place or manners of the inhabitants, I trust you will not insist on a particular account of either as I remained there only one hour in the heat of the day, and then proceeded to the residence of Coln. Logan,<sup>3</sup> who lives on a farm in the country. Here I received a very pressing invitation to remain sometime with the family and partake of the hospitalities of the State. I accordingly tarried during the night.

Saturday....I rode to the residence of Mr. James Vance,<sup>4</sup> who lives in the neighbourhood, and delivered a letter to Mrs. Margaret Vance, which had been entrusted to my care. After spending part of the day at Mr. Vance's, I left after giving a promise that I would call on them again before I left the country. In the evening returned to Coln. Logan's.

Sunday....This day went to church with Mr. Logan's family and heard the Reverend Adam Rankin<sup>5</sup> preach. He belongs to

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<sup>3</sup>Colonel John Logan, of Lincoln Co., State Treasurer from 1792 until his death, 1807. Cf. Collins' "Kentucky", Vol. II, pp. 244 and 684.

<sup>4</sup>Rev. James Vance, of the Presbyterian Church, came to Ky. from Va. in 1804. Cf. Collins' "Kentucky", Vol. I, p. 463.

<sup>5</sup>Rev. Adam Rankin, from Rockbridge, Va., settled in Lexington, 1784-5. He was the first Presbyterian minister who settled north of the Kentucky River. For full account of him and the Associate Reform Church see "Hist. of the Church in Kentucky", by R. H. Bishop, p. 140.



the Associate Reformed Church, and officiates in a log meeting-house close to the residence of Coln. Logan.

Monday....This morning left Coln. Logan's and rode to Lexington where I put up at Postlewhaites, [Postlethwaites?] Tavern. In the afternoon I called upon John Maxwell<sup>6</sup> who lives adjoining the town of Lexington on the North. On his pressing invitation I remained with him during the night. He is now a very old man, was one of the early pioneers of Kentucky, and has now no family living with him but his aged wife and a few domestic slaves.

I need hardly tell you that Lexington is a beautiful and flourishing in-land town. It has been, and yet is, the seat of wealth and refinement of the western country. The ground on which the town is situated is not altogether level but the gentle swells or eminences, rather add than detract from the beauty of the place. It contains about six hundred houses mostly brick, which appear to have neatness, elegance and convenience combined in their structure. The public buildings are: an elegant brick Court house. (Lexington is the County seat of Fayette County.) A brick College called Transylvania University in which are generally sixty or seventy students. A very elegant Presbyterian Church besides two other churches which would be called elegant compared with many I have seen. A Free-Mason lodge. A Market house, and a Theatre which is said to contain very splendid scenery, but I had not the satisfaction of seeing it as it was not then the season for performances.

There are a number of kinds of manufacturing carried on here; but principally the manufacture of hemp, which appears to be the staple commodity of the country. There are here nine or ten rope walks, and five Duck-factories for the manufacture of a coarse kind of hemp cloth. I was in one of the factories where were employed forty or fifty negro boys spinning in an apartment appropriated for that purpose; by means of a rope fixed in some manner, they turned their wheel, and drew out their threads, perhaps fifty yards in length before they stopped. Over these boys presided an overseer—a black man, with a whip in hand—to expedite their motions, and take notice of the

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<sup>6</sup>John Maxwell, a Scotchman, and one of the original settlers of Lexington. Cf. Collins' "Kentucky", Vol. II, p. 180.





number of threads which each one drew. Others were employed in taking the yarn from the spinners and conveying it into an adjoining apartment where there were about twenty negro men engaged in weaving the yarn into a coarse kind of cloth, such as I have seen used for bailing cotton. But as this is not the most pleasant part of the town, the stay I made was short.

The people in this part of Kentucky generally have considerable taste and refinement; many of them well informed and quite literary characters. There certainly are considerable opportunities for improvement for those who are so disposed, as independent of their seminaries of learning, and book-stores, of which there are two very large ones in the town, they have a circulating library containing about two thousand volumes, established I think on a very advantageous plan (too tedious to insert here) where a person, at small expense, can have the perusal of almost any work he pleases without the expense of purchasing it, an expense which the fortunes of but few are adequate to purchase every book which he ought to read, or which he needs occasionally as a book of reference. To the support of this establishment, the inhabitants for twenty miles around contribute.

On entering Kentucky I had impressed on my mind the opinion that the people had a self important deportment, expressive of conscious superiority, but this measurably wore off on a more intimate acquaintance. I was received in the most cordial manner, and treated with every mark of friendship and esteem, by the families to whom I was introduced, and with equal respect by others to whom I introduced myself. As this is a slave country almost all the labor is performed by slaves. They are the only waiters, and very few of the white people, of gentility, can wait upon themselves in the smallest matter.

Tuesday....The Court was in session, and I this day spent some time in the Court house hearing the Lawyers. There were present, Henry Clay,<sup>7</sup> Joseph Davies,<sup>8</sup> Jesse Bledsoe,<sup>9</sup> Mr.....

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<sup>7</sup>In the U. S. Senate at this time, 1810.

<sup>8</sup>Colonel Joseph H. Davies, born in Va., 1774, was killed in the battle of Tippecanoe; an eminent lawyer, and in 1806 occurred his celebrated prosecution of Aaron Burr. Cf. Ranck's Hist. of Lexington, pp. 243-4.

<sup>9</sup>Jesse Bledsoe, advocate and jurist of Ky.; U. S. Sen., 1813-15; Prof. of Law in the University of Transylvania; Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Ky. Died in 1837. Cf. Ranck's Hist. of Lexington, p. 217.



Pope <sup>10</sup> and others whose names I did not learn. In the afternoon I was invited to accompany a party of gentlemen on an excursion of pleasure to Mr. Fowler's <sup>11</sup> garden which is about a mile and an half from the town, which as I was not particularly engaged I accepted. The garden is situated, as I before remarked, about a mile and an half from the town, not on any public road, but apparantly in a secluded situation, where only the keepers, and those who went purposely to visit the garden were to be seen. The mansion was a small neat frame building which appeared to have seen the lapse of many years. In front of the house is a beautiful plat of ground covered with short grass, having gravel walks, shaded by rows of lombardy poplar and various other kinds of trees, which rendered it extremely pleasant and agreeable at this hot season of the year. At the further end of one of these walks, at the declivity of a hill, issued a copious spring of transparent clear cool water. To this place, I understand, Mr. Fowler (who resides in the town) occasionally takes his friends to regale them with cool water, not forgetting an abundance of good wine and brandy, of which he is always supplied with an excellent assortment. From this we proceeded to the garden situated at the other end of the walk. Here the gate was opened to us by a black man, who with several negroes, are constantly employed in attending to, and cultivating the garden and waiting on visitors. This garden contains about three acres, all under the highest state of cultivation, every kind of fruit, flower, and vegetable which I have ever seen in a garden, were here in the greatest abundance. The ripe cherries, currants, rasberries, and other fruits hanging on the trees and bushes were delightful. I returned to the town with the company, not regretting that I had spent an hour or two for the pleasure of such a walk.

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<sup>10</sup>John Pope, born in Virginia about 1770, settled in Lexington, Ky. He was in the State legislature; U. S. Sen., 1807-13; Governor of the Territory of Arkansas, 1829-35; Member of U. S. Cong., 1837-42. Died in 1845. Cf. Collins' Hist. of Kentucky, Vol. II, p. 752, and Drake's American Biog., p. 728.

<sup>11</sup>Captain John Fowler was Rep. of U. S. Cong., 1797-1807, from Fayette Co., Ky., and Postmaster of Lexington for many years. He served in the Revolutionary War. Died in 1840. Cf. Ranck's Hist. of Lexington, p. 345.



Next day I called on Mr. Clay, Mr. Fowler, Mr. Pope, and Mr. Bledsoe, Secretary, with whom I had some business. But I need not trouble and weary out your patience by telling you how or what I am doing. ....

At present Farewell,  
JAMES MCBRIDE.

#### IV.

### VOYAGE DOWN THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER.

Mississippi River, April 1, 1812.

Dear Aunt:<sup>12</sup>

About the First of March last I received a letter from you, and omitted answering it until now, which was, not occasioned, or owing to negligence, but because I thought the intelligence I would have to give, if I wrote truly, would occasion you some little uneasiness, as at that time I was engaged in making preparations to make a voyage to New Orleans and am now so far on my way. Last winter I entered into a co-partnership with Joseph Hough, of Hamilton, [Ohio] with the intention of carrying on the business of merchandizing; we purchased a quantity of flour and whisky in the Miami Country and located two flat boats on the Miami river which we have brought out of that stream and are thus far on our voyage. When we go to New Orleans we shall sell our cargo, go round by sea to Philadelphia and purchase goods and return with them to Hamilton.

As you had no doubt heard very alarming accounts about the earthquake and other dangers of descending the Mississippi river, I suppose you would have looked upon me as going to certain destruction. Thank kind Providence, I think we have now passed those dangers, and if some untoward accident does not overtake us shall pass safely to New Orleans and if flour bears the price, which I understand it does, we shall make something very handsome. Our cargoes consist of seven hundred barrels of flour and some whisky and pork which we purchased in the Miami country on very reasonable terms, as the reports prevailing of the dangers to be encountered from the Indians and the Earth-

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<sup>12</sup>Miss Mary McRoberts, sister of the mother of James McBride. In 1813 she married James Ralston, of Greencastle, Pa. Cf. McBride Mss.



quakes had so much frightened the people that none would venture to encounter them. These stories I considered improbable, but have since found too much reality to exist in them, particularly those relating to the Earthquakes.

I shall give you some little account of what I saw and experienced although it must be a very cursory account, as I was only on shore at certain points, and then but a short distance from the river. The following is extracted from the Journal which I kept.

Soon after entering the Mississippi river we began to discover the effects of the Earthquake<sup>13</sup>—the region of which we were now approaching. Above New Madrid [Missouri] on the west side of the river is a grove of Cotton wood and willow trees two or three miles long; these were all bent up stream and stripped of their leaves and branches in a singular manner. It is said that at the time of the violent shock the river at this place for some time ran up stream with great velocity, and from the appearance I have no doubt of the fact, as I know of nothing else that could have produced the appearance here exhibited—we were now experiencing considerable shocks every few hours.

We passed New Madrid [Missouri] in the afternoon, intending to land before night. Mr. Hough had command of one boat and myself of the other, we each steered our own boat and had only two other hands on each boat to row. Mr. Hough, who was rowing to shore to land on the west side of the river, discovering that the landing place would be a critical situation, by signs motioned me to keep out. I immediately turned my boat and rowed for the middle of the river again; I made every effort to land on the other shore but was unable; at dark I made a Willow-Island in the river and fastened to the willows, where we remained all night in a very exposed situation. The Island was all overflowed, but barely sufficient where we lay to float our boat which drew somewhat over three feet of water. The river was falling and myself and hands were obliged frequently during the night to jump overboard into the water, cold as it was, to push off the boat and prevent her getting fast

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<sup>13</sup>For accounts of the New Madrid earthquake, see "Recollections of the last ten years in the valley of the Mississippi," pp. 222-228, by Timothy Flint; and, "Original contributions to the American Pioneer", pp. 34-5, by Dr. S. P. Hildreth, republished in Perkins' *Annals of the West*, p. 250.





aground. As soon as day dawned we put off from our dangerous harbor, in a dull rainy morning and at ten O'Clock landed at the Little Prairie about . . . miles below New Madrid. Here had been a small village of some twenty houses and a settlement extending back six or eight miles from the river, principally French & Spaniards. On landing we soon discovered that the place where we were moored had been part of the town, now the bed of the Mississippi river. A considerable portion, several acres, on which part of the town had stood, had sunk down with the buildings and the river flowed over the place. The place where we made fast our boat was a burying ground, part had sunk into the river, and coffins were exposed along the bank. The tenants had been Roman Catholics, as the cross was erected at the head of each grave. A large cross made of strong cyprus wood placed, no doubt, at the grave of some pious Christian, was broken and prostrated to the earth. Although it rained considerably, after securing our boat I wrapped myself in my great coat and went on shore to see what discoveries I could make. Of about a dozen houses and cabbins which I saw, not one was standing, all was either entirely prostrated or nearly overturned, and wrecked in a miserable manner; the surface of the ground cracked and fractured in every direction. At the back part of the village I found three Frenchmen who were sheltering themselves in a temporary booth of boards taken from some of the desolate houses. They informed me in broken English that the late beautiful village and settlement was now wholly destroyed. The inhabitants had fled with what property they could take with them. They, and only they, were left to tell the passing stranger of the melancholy fate of the place. I continued my excursion about two miles back from the river, although it was with considerable difficulty, and at every step witnessed some new phenomena of the desolating effects of the Earthquakes.

The surface of the ground was cracked in almost every direction and stood like yawning gulphs, so wide that I could scarcely leap over them, at other places I came to spaces of ground several poles in width, sunk down two or three feet below the common level of the ground. But what particularly attracted my attention were circular holes in the earth from five or six to thirty feet in diameter, the depth corresponding



with the diameter so as to be about half as deep as wide, and surrounded with a circle of sand two or three feet deep, and a black substance like stone coal but lighter, probably carbonized wood. I took some pieces of this to the boat, and putting them on the fire I found they would burn, at the same time producing a strong and disagreeable sulphurous smell. These holes I presume must have been produced by a strong current of air issuing from the bowels of the earth, throwing up sand and water and this black substance which was perhaps wood, long imbedded in the earth prostrating the trees and everything else where they happened and producing the most horrible disorder. I observed in several instances where small explosions had occurred under large trees, that the trunk of the tree was split up ten or twelve feet and separated two or three feet wide at the ground and thus remained standing. The day was dark and gloomy with [little?] light; I heard and felt from time to time the rumbling noise of these explosions; all nature around me had the most melancholy appearance. A sudden dread came over me all at once and I returned to the boat. I lay at Little Prairie until the afternoon of the next day during which time we experienced eight or ten shocks, some of them so severe as to shake from their places loose articles in the boat. Each shock continued about two minutes and was preceded by a rumbling noise like distant thunder or the discharge of a cannon at a great distance. We experienced slight shocks at intervals for the distance of one hundred miles above and below Little Prairie. The shores of the river in this region presented a most melancholy spectacle, the banks cracked and fractured, trees broken off and fractured, and in many places acres of ground sunk down so that the tops of the trees just appeared above the surface of the water. All nature appeared in ruins, and seemed to mourn in solitude over her melancholy fate.

In the afternoon of the next day, Mr Hough, with the other boat, made his appearance. The place where he had to land was in the head of an out-let so far down that he was unable to put out and gain the channel of the river again from that place, but the next day with great labor and the aid of some friendly Indians, who came along, they towed the boat some twenty or thirty rods up stream, from whence they were able to regain the channel.



I am now lying at shore on the bank of the Mississippi river, I suppose about one hundred miles above Natchez. Yesterday a violent storm compelled us to land here, it continued all night so violent as to require us to be up to prevent the waves from dashing our boats on shore. The high wind still continues to-day, and the river so rough that we cannot pursue our voyage. I therefore devote the day to writing you this letter intending to put it in the Post-Office when I arrive at Natchez. You may suppose that I am not in a very comfortable situation for writing, nor do I feel in a mood for writing after the fatigue I have undergone. I have brought a boat loaded with 350 barrels of flour from the Miami to this place with only two hands; labor, watching and anxiety have at times reduced me to almost exhaustion. Dear Aunt, your affectionate Nephew

James McBride.

[Miss Mary Roberts  
Green Castle, Pa.]



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## FOREWORD

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The letters of Oran Follett and his correspondents, published in this Quarterly, are selected from the "Follett Collection" of manuscripts belonging to the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, and have for their main subject the politics of the State of New York, in which the writers were, in a greater or lesser degree, participants.

While the dates of these letters are from 1830 to 1833, they contain numerous references to the conditions and movements of the various political parties dating back to 1824, and furnish an insight into the views and feelings of the men in that arena, if not any new historical data bearing upon that topic, which has been so fully covered by historians.

Oran Follett, (to whom these papers formerly belonged) was the son of Frederic and Giffé (Babcock) Follett of Gorham, N. Y., where he was born Sept. 4, 1798. After an experience of service in the navy during the war of 1812, and completing an apprenticeship with a Canandaigua publisher to learn the art of printing, he settled in Batavia, 1821, and there founded "The Spirit of the Times", the first newspaper published within the State west of Rochester. Two years later he was elected to represent his *election* district in the State Legislature, and during the session of 1824, he nominated the Adams ticket. Thurlow Weed, in a letter of April 6, 1881, to Follett, writes:—"but for your action in the Democratic caucus, *Crawford & Clay* instead of *Crawford & Adams* electoral ticket must have been voted for, which would have kept Mr. Adams out of the House of Representatives, leaving the final issue between Crawford and Clay with the chances in favor of Crawford." (Presidential elections were at this time under the old system.) There were four tickets in the field;—the Adams (republican); Crawford (republican); Jackson; and the Clay (headed Democrat.) The Senate adopted the Crawford ticket but there was a deadlock in the Assembly, which was broken finally by the nomination of the Adams ticket, which the Regency (Crawfordite) voters sustained in preference



to the Clay ticket. An interesting account of this Presidential election in New York, written by Mr. Follett, was published in the New York Tribune in 1881, a copy of which appears in the Autobiography of Thurlow Weed, v. I, p. 130.

Following the Presidency of Mr. Adams, 1825-29, came the election of Jackson to the presidency, 1829, and his subsequent re-election in 1834 with Van Buren as vice-president. The latter took control of the New York canvass for that party, and secured the support of the bankers of New York city, who recognized that in the extermination of the United States Bank lay their aggrandizement, as the government deposits would then come to them. Owing to this support, the popularity of Jackson, and other causes, it soon became apparent to the various opposing political parties in the State that their only hope for success in defeating the Jackson party, lay in the union of their forces and the support of one ticket.

The Anti-Masonic Convention was held June 21, 1832, at Utica, Albert H. Tracy, Chairman. Francis Granger was unanimously re-nominated for Governor and Samuel Stevens for Lieut. Governor, and the party announced an electoral ticket equally divided between Antimasons and National Republicans, headed by James Kent and John C. Spencer. The following month the National Republicans adopted the Anti-Masonic State and electoral tickets, with the understanding that Mr. Clay would receive the antimasons' votes if they would insure his election to the Presidency. This combination did not save them from defeat as history shows.

In 1825 Mr. Follett removed to Buffalo, where he became one of the proprietors of the "Daily Journal" and, as its editor, his ability as a writer on political and economic questions was abundantly evinced. He removed to Sandusky, Ohio, in 1834, where he was active in the interests and welfare of that town. He was president of the Board of Public Works of Ohio, from 1845 to 1850, and was the editor of the Ohio State Journal for a number of years. In the Whig campaigns of 1840 and 1844, he was a staunch supporter of the party, and, it is claimed that it was due largely to his efforts that Salmon P. Chase was elected Governor.

During the last thirty years of his life he took no active part in political matters. He died in Sandusky, Oct. 14, 1894.

L. B. H.



# I.

## ORAN FOLLETT TO AZARIAH C. FLAGG.

July 23, 1830—Buffalo.

A. C. Flagg,<sup>1</sup> Esq.

Dr Sir,

When you was here I regretted that no opportunity seemed to present for a full and familiar talk about matters and things in general, and politicks in particular. Although since the fall of 1824, I have stood in a state of *betweenity* so far as names were concerned, I have nevertheless felt all the anxiety for the prevalence of republican principles and the triumph of the republican party (when it was to be found) that I ever did. I was you know a supporter of Mr. Adams<sup>2</sup>—he was my second choice in 1824, and so he was yours and a dozen other of our friends who shall be soon lost. You and others (the *real* republicans) supported Gen. Jackson,<sup>3</sup> doubtless in accordance with some great principle of the party that I have never discovered, and probably never shall—you were successful. But as in war, the possession of the field after battle not always showing an ability to maintain it, so in party conflicts a triumph today is no index of the issue tomorrow, it is no way singular therefore that a Waterloo defeat awaits you—(I will not say *us*, after the manner I have been received by the *real* republicans).

The situation of the parties in the state and union, clearly point to a great revolution in publick sentiment—greater and more sudden than that in favour of Gen. J[ackson], because produced without official intervention in its support. In this State, you must I think be aware by this time of the condition of things. The party is literally gone to the Devil, or will soon be there, if a change of policy does not take place. True, you have the patronage of the State and general government to sustain you, and under a different state of publick feeling, with a chief execu-

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<sup>1</sup>Azariah C. Flagg, publisher of the Republican at Plattsburg, which he started in 1811, was in the State legislature representing the Regency faction, but in 1824 he cast his vote for the Adams ticket. Later combined with the Jackson party. Cf. Autobiog. of Thurlow Weed, and Alexander's Polit. Hist. of N. Y.

<sup>2</sup>John Quincy Adams.

<sup>3</sup>Andrew Jackson.





tive who deserved and commanded the love and respect of the people—who by his prominent acts gave something to the world for their admiration, and who furnished his friends with honest arguments for *his* support and *their* advancement—then, I grant, you would stand some chance of breasting the storm. But desertion of political friends, like a panick, is contagious—(vide the fate of Mr. Adams,). To be suspected, is to be abandoned, and when the impression amongst both friends and enemies is unfavourable to lasting fame or protracted power, the possession of either is no longer certain. So much for Gen. J[ackson.]

Of Gov. Throop,<sup>4</sup> I would not speak otherwise than in terms of high respect and admiration. He has exhibited under the counsel of his friends some fine traits of moral courage and of adroit management. For these things he *deserves* support and will always command respect. During his short career he has done himself credit, and has confirmed the opinion which many western men entertained of him long since, myself amongst the number, although I never had any personal acquaintance with him—(By the by, I am you know more an observer of, than a participator, in great men's fortunes and actions.) But all will not do. Gov. Throop's fate is linked with that phantom called the "Regency"<sup>5</sup>—(Did'st ever hear of the *realities* of the *imagination*?) and down he must come, sooner or later, with all the rest of you in jolly sociability. Now, this is a hard sentence to pronounce, coming from an old friend—and that is the very reason why I speak it, that you may have the full benefit of all my sage wisdom and long experience, fearing that others less plain hearted might conceal from you the real state of the case. But how is this? I will tell you. The case stands thus:—1st. The Anti-Masons<sup>6</sup> will of course run a ticket, perhaps Ambrose Spencer<sup>7</sup> and Frank Granger.<sup>8</sup> 2d Gen. Root<sup>9</sup> *will* run. 3d If

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<sup>4</sup>Enos T. Throop was elected Governor, 1830, by the Regency party.

<sup>5</sup>The Albany Regency had its beginning in 1821, created by the "Bucktail" faction, during Gov. DeWitt Clinton's second administration. Its purpose was to secure absolute control of the party policy and, also, of the patronage of the State, the distribution of which had been heretofore largely under local direction. Its power was supreme for a number of years, but was on the decline in 1842. Cf. Alexander's Polit. Hist. of N. Y.

<sup>6</sup>The Anti-Masons had been steadily increasing in numbers since the abduction of William Morgan (a Mason who attempted to publish the secrets of Free Masonry) and a bitter and vindictive feeling existed



Gov. Throop runs, the two last named gentlemen will assuredly be defeated or, in other words, the Anti-Masons (Bah!) will triumph, Weed,<sup>10</sup> Tracy,<sup>11</sup> & all!! Again, If Gov. Throop runs *alone* against a strong ticket, composed of old democrattick Anti-Masons, he will be defeated, unless you can get along with 3 out of 4 against the "Regency" in the *old* Western District.

You will ask how do I know that Root *will* run? You *may* be fully advised on this head. But he will run, you may rest assured, just as certain as cause and effect are inseparable. Then how is the matter to be avoided? Hear Sir Oracle. Make Root *your* candidate, fall in with the proposition, regard it as the voice of the old democracy of the State, and as such, honour it. What think you? Is the remedy worse than the disease? Gov. Throop and his friends can never secure an honourable retreat, with a fair prospect of establishing a new "Regency" (don't laugh) under the coming dynasty. The alternative is presented, *I conceive*, of submitting to a defeat from the Anti-Masons, or yielding temporarily to an *eclipse*, arising from natural causes

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in the western portion of the State between Masons and Antimasons. The latter formed a political party and aligned themselves with the National Republicans (Adams party) in the Presidential campaign of 1828. The Antimasons nominated their candidates for Gov. and Lieut. Gov., which ticket the Nat. Rep. of the western counties agreed to support, but those of the eastern counties objected and nominated other candidates, thus bringing a third party into the field, which division proved one of the chief causes of their defeat. The Jackson party elected Van Buren and Throop for Gov. and Lieut. Gov. Cf. Hammond's Polit. Hist. of N. Y.

<sup>7</sup>Ambrose Spencer was in the U. S. Congress, 1829-1831; of the Regency Party. In later years became a Whig.

<sup>8</sup>Francis Granger was in the State legislature, 1826-31; he was twice an unsuccessful candidate of his party for Gov. Cf. Lanman's Dict. of Cong.

<sup>9</sup>Gen. Erastus Root had been elected Governor in 1820 by the Buck-tails; U. S. Congress, 1831-33.

<sup>10</sup>Thurlow Weed was at this time editing the "Albany Evening Journal" which took a conspicuous part in the formation of the Whig and Republican parties, being equally opposed to the Jackson administration and to nullification. See Appleton's Biog. Cyclop.

<sup>11</sup>Albert H. Tracy of Buffalo, had been in the U. S. Cong. Was in State Senate 1830-38, and was of the Anti-Mason party.



and unforeseen circumstances, by the Workers.<sup>12</sup> The first are sworn enemies, from good cause—the second are friends in name, and may be made so in fact from the stern *necessity* of arbitrary *interest*!

Thou traitor! you will say—Dost thou counsel me to betray my principles and the republican party?—Keep cool, my friend—not so exactly. The change to a support of Root (as a matter of policy only) would not be *greater*—would it?—than that which took place in the *principles* of the Republican party in 1825, *after* the Presidential election? I am no admirer of Gen. Root's present political course—it is fraught with evil. But he has high example before him. The maxim is now-a-days, myself first, the party afterwards, principles when convenient. I did not see the Gen[eral] myself when he was through the country—I avoided him intentionally, and in doing so hardly saw you a moment. I did not care about seeing you at Buffalo as it was, because then I should have come in personal contact *with your political friends*, than whom there never existed a more mercenary set. I could buy them all with one moderate office in expectation. But let that pass. You know them, I hope.

You do not believe that defeat awaits you. It is hard to acknowledge unpleasant truths even to one's self. Yet a wise man does not shut his eyes to danger; he prepares himself for the emergency, come in what shape it may. Sooner or later, you will find out that the cry of the "Regency" has had its effect—it has worked and continues to work wonders—it operates as a charm upon the ignorant and seems to stimulate the broken down and mercenary with new hope. To them the "Regency" is the cause of all their defeats, the source of all evils, moral, physical and political. They therefore make war upon it, and it will be well for you if in the coming rencounter the fabled giant<sup>13</sup> at Albany is able to put forth his arms as effectually as did the *airy* antagonist of honest Don Quixote of old. In my recent jaunt I have seen and heard these things. Men who hate Anti-Masonry with a pious hatred, next to their fear of the devil, will still go for it rather than go for the "Regency". These are men of consequence in most instances. They would

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<sup>12</sup>Working Men's party.

<sup>13</sup>Edwin Crosby, editor of the Albany Argus and State printer; Mem. of the Regency party.



not talk this to you, and *perhaps* in many cases their language served to cheer you at the opening prospect. Lay not the flattering unction to your soul. Believe them not, who tell you of easy victories, or I am nothing worth for a prophet. You cannot have forgotten the electoral excitement—the removal of Clinton,<sup>14</sup> &c. You will remember the state of public feeling at that time. The movements of the general government, its removals and appointments, have created a deep sentiment of hostility now—it is silent, and strong, and is to be the more dreaded. Then there is the Report of the Canal Board—the “Regency” have to shoulder all the odium of that measure. By the by, the Canal Commissioners are becoming dead weight. They are too yielding and too pliable to the powers that be, too much in resemblance of the Vicar of Bray, to be profitable support to any party. I never can—I never will forgive Young<sup>15</sup> for his political backsliding in '24—he is in no way to be depended [upon] as a man of principle—he is a shark.

Well, all this is very fine, you will say. So it is and you are heartily welcome to it. It is the unaided suggestions of my own desultory reflections. Time will show you some truths amongst my crudities. I do not wish to convince you; nor do I expect to advance any new views; but the repetition of old saws and stale advice may produce good effects by forcing one to think. But why not profit by my own wisdom, and keep my knowledge to myself? I will answer the question by the single remark, I'll no more of party at present, except to oppose myself to *Anti-ism*. I've had enough—it is poor pay, and the wisdom it teaches comes too late. Why then trouble you with my notions. The truth is, I've an hour to spare, and I can think of no one, to torment whom, will afford me more pleasure. If you do not find a recompense in the matter, for the trouble I occasion you in reading, why send it back from sheer vexation, and I will send it off to some one else.

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<sup>14</sup>Reference to the removal of DeWitt Clinton from the Canal Commission.

<sup>15</sup>Samuel Young was in the Assembly, 1815, had been an unsuccessful candidate of the Bucktails for U. S. Sen. 1819, and for Gov. 1824. Alexander states in his *Polit. Hist. of N. Y. v. I, p. 394*, that Young had declared for Clay in 1824; had inclined to Adams in 1828, and was inclined to support Clay in 1832 but policy led him into the Jackson party.





Wishing you safe deliverance from all your enemies for "auld lang syne", I subscribe myself in high spirits, your very obdt. humble servt.

[Oran Follett]

[Original draft of letter]

## II.

### AZARIAH C. FLAGG TO ORAN FOLLETT.

Albany, Aug. 4, 1830.

My Dear Sir,

I have received your letter of the 23d ult. and have been gratified to hear from an old friend, and amused with your chapter of political romances; Gen. Jackson, you may rely upon it, stands as firm as a rock; and before the end of his second term, he will be as popular as Mr. Jefferson ever was. You cannot have forgotten, what was often repeated by the *real* republicans, that the success of Gen. Jackson was a revolution similar to that which took place in 1800. It was a second triumph of the "*great principle*," which you seem not to have discovered. The veto of Gen. J. may lose him something in the west, but in the whole union it gives him strength. The display of such moral courage and such honesty, will rally around the old hero a moral force which will be irresistible. Maine & N. Hampshire, and probably more of the east, will be on his side, and they were against him before. I say this from recent information from that quarter. N. York, instead of a maj. of 4 votes, will give Jackson a majority of 38 or 39, as the case may be.

Thus having settled the presidential question to my entire satisfaction, let us discuss your propositions as to State matters.

I agree with you that Gov. Throop has exhibited "traits of moral courage" which entitle him to the respect and confidence of honest men of all sects. And I shall not complain of the policy of the Clay masons of the west, if to embarrass the cause of those who support Jackson, they should endeavor to push on division, and to get the Herkimer convention to nominate a man, of whose election, or defeat, they might claim some advantage. The special counsel desires the nomination of Root, and in your plan of operations we should have his ardent co-operation. You say take Root because he will run; I say if he is nominated at



Herkimer he will; if not, he says no.—To the Clay men he may have said yes. This testimony therefore is balanced. The republicans of Delaware say that R. will not be a candidate, unless he gets the H. nomination, and that his own Co[unty] will support the regular nomination, whoever it may be. This is my belief; and the democrats of Delaware will control this question. If I was a delegate to the Herkimer convention representing the Co. of Clinton, I would stand by an honest man, who had nobly done his duty, sink or swim. But as a member of the "Regency" you know I am constrained by the "great principle" to have nothing to do with such matters, and shall be entirely satisfied with the nominations made in accordance with the feelings of the democracy.

As to the *phantom* of the *Regency*, there is nothing new or alarming in it; it is like the cry against Tompkins,<sup>16</sup> and against our party at all times, and is used by the old federalists, as they used Jefferson's *red plush breeches*, because they had nothing else to find fault with. There may be some republicans who have got others, and are crying out *regency*, merely from an anxiety to find the republican party, having been informed by the "Daily" that this "phantom" of which you speak is the real republican party.

Your picture may be overwrought by the surrounding infection—mine may be erroneous from breathing a different atmosphere.

Those of whom you speak, who hate anti-masonry, but will support the *devil* rather than the *regency*, are anti-Jackson men. This is not surprising and by no means alarming. They united with the anti-masons on the electors; yet in the aggregate of the whole State, Jackson held more than 5000 majority. Now all such characters will certainly go to the *devil* sooner or later; and yourself, and all such as have any anxiety to find the republican party, had better cut loose from them. A knight templar of this city, has said, he would go for Granger in preference to Throop. He is an *Adams workey*.<sup>17</sup> Old-nick will have a *royal arch chapter* of such fellows.

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<sup>16</sup>Reference to Daniel D. Tompkins, Gov. of N. Y. and Vice-President of the U. S.

<sup>17</sup>Derisive name given to a branch of the Working Men's political party in 1832.



Your able and manly defence of Throop in his controversy with the special counsel, must have prepared the minds of your readers to support an honest upright magistrate. "Hold fast to that which is good" and discourage the attempt of the *ultras* in the 8th district, to divide the small remnant which has heretofore opposed anti-masonry in that region.

I am with much respect, your old friend,

A. C. Flagg.

O. Follett, Esq., Buffalo, N. York.

### III.

#### ORAN FOLLETT TO AZARIAH C. FLAGG.

Buffalo, Oct. 24, 1830.

A. C. Flagg, Esq.

Dr Sir,

I did not call to see you on my return from N. York, for reasons which it is needless here to explain. I found things in a bad train wherever I went, all which you probably understand better than I do. At the west appearances are no worse than they were, and I hope that the result will not prove as disastrous as I had anticipated. There is no change in the aspect of affairs of a particular kind; but I think the vote for Granger will be less than I had thought, owing to general causes.

In this Congressional district, a fine opportunity presented for dividing and distracting the enemy, but your *friends* here, on whom the management of affairs devolved by the *usages of the party*, let the chance slip, and all was lost. The nomination of Cook<sup>18</sup> for Congress, produced much dissatisfaction amongst the friends of Norton.<sup>19</sup> They forthwith tendered him a nomination in opposition, and he was actually nominated by the two easternmost towns in this county. This would have been echoed in other towns, and in Chautauqua county measures were in successful progress to bring it about, and Norton offered to stand, provided the *Jackson* folks would not make a nomination, thus

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<sup>18</sup>Bates Cook of Niagara Co., mem. of Cong. 1831-33; of the Jackson party.

<sup>19</sup>Ebenezer F. Norton of Erie Co. in U. S. Cong. 1829-31; of the Jackson party.



leaving the choice between Cook and himself. But so tenacious were they of forms, so fearful that they should be thought wanting in that which they were never suspected of possessing an overstock, to wit, political honesty and stability, that they persisted in making a nomination without the remotest hope of success, thus sacrificing the substance for the shadow, and forcing things back to their original position, by driving Norton off the course.

I have no doubt but what a difference of 1000 votes might have been made on the Government ticket, had the plan succeeded. What renders the conduct of the managers still more ridiculous is, that they should nominate Foote<sup>20</sup> of Chautauqua, who was already in nomination for the Assembly in his own county, and could not therefore accept. Two or three of them (four, it is said) have since put Thomas B. Campbell in nomination, of Chautauqua, and styled their doings the proceedings of the "Democratick Mutiny", &c. &c.!!

The first part of this farce took place before my return. Had I been at home, I could not have prevented it, for I am not consulted by the *exclusives*, nor do I wish to be, as I could not act with them. They are without any exception, the most Jackassical managers I ever knew anything about. Did you know them as we know them here, you would no longer wonder at the weakness of your party in this country and district. They *force* men to oppose them, who would if left to themselves naturally fall in with the course of the party, and heartily support the State administration.

They have all been making a great fuss about the Post office, since I left here, concerning which you have probably heard something, for they are famous for appealing to their *friends* for help. Nothing but mischief will result from it. They quarrelled amongst themselves—divisions and jealousies exist, which prevent them from acting together for general purposes efficiently—new enemies were made, and so the matter ended. There is also a quarrel in existence between the bar and the first Judge, Bennett<sup>21</sup>—they asked him to decline, but he refused, and told them that "he viewed the whole proceeding with utter contempt." They persisted, telling him that they thought they could better

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<sup>20</sup>Samuel A. Foote of Chautauqua.

<sup>21</sup>Philander Bennett of Buffalo.





the matter by a new selection. To which he modestly replied, that "there were many men who no doubt thought the country would be benefitted if Gen<sup>l</sup> Jackson would resign his office, but he did not think the Gen<sup>l</sup> would do it, on being asked, and neither should he."!! This affair has produced dissensions amongst the exclusives, and has given rise to lukewarmness concerning the interests of the party. On the whole, you may safely boast, that no men ever possessed such auxillaries as you have here. You will run no risk in worshipping them, should you be at a loss for a deity; and, withal, they are eminently calculated to enlist the affections—against themselves. The Anti-Masons are in high spirits, calculating sagely on success, and, what is worse, we have no means left of opposing them. I hope the atmosphere is clearer at the east, if it is not, if there is no bright spot on which the hopes of the party can rest, more cheering than anything I can give you here, then sure enough the devil has got us, and we may as well shout "Anti-Masonry and Master Frank"<sup>22</sup> as anything else—only it will sound bad. Which may God prevent, if he has any mercies in store for us on earth, and deeply gratify, amongst others

Your obdt. humble servt.

O. Follett.

[Original draft of letter.]

#### IV.

### HENRY WHITE<sup>23</sup> TO ORAN FOLLETT

Albany January 6, 1831

Dear Sir

I yesterday called on the Editors of the Daily Advertiser,<sup>24</sup> whom I suppose to be leading men in the Clay<sup>25</sup> party, & inquired of them whether the prospect of our Convention<sup>26</sup> on the

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<sup>22</sup>See Note 8.

<sup>23</sup>Henry White of Buffalo, a newspaper publisher.

<sup>24</sup>Albany Daily Advertiser; editors were at that time, James Hunter, Robert Martin, and Gerrit W. Ryckman. Cf. Autobiog. of Thurlow Weed.

<sup>25</sup>Clay party organized 1831.

<sup>26</sup>Convention was not held until June 3, 1831; Henry Clay was nominated for President, and Hammond, in his Polit. Hist. of N. Y. v. I, p. 366, states that something like a State organization was attempted. An address to the people was issued, signed by P. R. Livingstone, Prest., J. D. Dickinson, H. H. Bogart, Joseph Hoxie, and Oran Follett.



20th instant was flattering or untowards. Mr. R.<sup>27</sup> expressed his fears that the Counties would not be generally represented, owing to the shortness of the notice as well as to the extreme bad travelling & suggested the propriety of the Convention being postponed to some future period, as the project of holding a National Convention during the present winter appears to have been given up at Washington. He requested me to defer writing you on the subject till today & stated that he would in the meantime see the Central Corresponding Committee at this place & confer with them on the subject & advise me of the course, which they should think it advisable to pursue. He called on me today & informed me he had seen the Committee & that they considered it best to hold the Convention on the 20th as had been proposed. He stated also that from what he could learn he believed delegates would attend from most of the Counties & that it would be at least respectable in point of numbers -- that he was apprehensive that if it should now be permitted to fall through, it would give an advantage to our opponents & that the *Argus* folks would magnify it & pronounce it a *flash in the pan* or some other such like terrible thing. You will therefore perceive that your attendance as well as that of our other delegates will be relied on & I apprehend that it is very important that you should attend.

The Governor's<sup>28</sup> message you will have seen before this reaches you, its merits are variously spoken of here as you will learn from the papers but I believe that it is generally conceded that the *wisdom* of the man, who wrote it, is *but a small light* shining about his *footsteps* while his hand on State matters at least is *shrouded in great darkness*. It is not my intention however at this time to criticize upon the message, suffice it to say that if it contains some good ideas it certainly contains some foolish things, to say nothing of those parts of it, which are yet so much under the dominion of *darkness* as to be hid from poor finite understanding, and I apprehend that in case the *regents* of the State should sum up the whole matter contained in this new State paper & strike a balance between the *useful & useless* they would find the balance hardly worth to the people what it will cost them.

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<sup>27</sup>Gerrit W. Ryckman.

<sup>28</sup>Martin Van Buren.



The party are evidently labouring under some difficulty in the Senate—some misunderstanding has arisen among the *Republican* members of that Hon[orable] body & a considerable party, which appears to be headed by Mr. Hubbard<sup>29</sup> of Chenango—seem to exhibit feelings of disaffection towards the Regency. I have not yet been able to ascertain the cause of this disaffection and cannot therefore tell whether it is likely to increase, or whether it will be removed by making a reasonable application of the usages of the party. It is said the same feeling has got into the lower House & displayed itself in the choice of Speaker, the Regency men voting for Gansevoort<sup>30</sup>—I however doubt the correctness of this statement & am inclined to believe, that whatever of morbid feeling may now display itself, the usages of *the party* will be fully equal to the emergency & so applied as to remove the *bile* that may have collected during the warm season, and restore *The Party* to its usual health & vigor, notwithstanding its sudden death is devoutly to be wished even if it were to be effected by suicide.

It is now generally understood here that Gen. Root will press his appointment to the U. S. Senate & he has as I am informed several warm supporters both in the Senate & Assembly, but I do not believe that he will succeed. It is now said by the knowing ones, that Sanford<sup>31</sup> will be reappointed, but from some suggestions that I have heard I apprehend that neither of them will be appointed, but that Comptroller Wright<sup>32</sup> will be preferred as a man upon whom they can more safely *calculate* at a time *when his services will be most needed by the party*; however, there will be difficulty on this subject unless the usages of the party are strictly adhered to & the discipline of *King Caucus* is rigorously enforced, but he should not be *too severe* in the exercise of *prerogative power* lest the fate of Charles X overtake him.

Mr. Roberts<sup>33</sup> of Rochester is here an applicant for the State

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<sup>29</sup>John F. Hubbard of Chenango.

<sup>30</sup>Herman Gansevoort probably.

<sup>31</sup>Nathan Sanford was in the U. S. Sen. at this time; of the Regency party.

<sup>32</sup>Silas Wright was State Comptroller, having resigned his seat in Cong. 1829; of the Regency party.

<sup>33</sup>Elijah J. Roberts, Ed. of "The Craftsman" pub. in Rochester; he was an editor in Buffalo in 1834.



printing in case *the party* should revolutionize & *King Caucus* should be decapitated. He tells me a majority of the *Republican Senators* are in favor of his appointment but I have not faith equal to a *grain* of mustard seed upon the subject.

Our Bank Petition has been presented with many others of the same kind. I can form no opinion of its success, but from the number of Bank petitions already presented I should think if the proper *combinations*, to say nothing of *coalitions*, were formed it might probably succeed.

I will endeavor to write you again soon, you must not criticise upon this nor let neighbor Day.....

H. White.

[Henry White endorsed on back of letter.]

## V.

ORAN FOLLETT TO MAJOR JOHN G. CAMP.<sup>34</sup>

Buffalo, Dec. 13, 1831.

My Dr. Sir,

Yesterday was the day for the meeting of the grand Convention<sup>35</sup> of National Republicans at Baltimore. I write you at Washington, presuming that long before this reaches you, you will have discharged the duties of your appointment, and will be at the Federal City, watching the course of events.

There can be no doubt but what the Convention has nominated Mr. Clay, for the Presidency. It could do no less, without offending the sense of the nation, and it is questionable whether it or we, the *people*, can do any more. The nomination was due Mr. Clay, as a tribute of grateful remembrance from the real friends of the country—it was his due as the inflexible and eloquent defender of the constitution and as the advocate of that great system of internal polity, on which rests the prosperity and happiness of the Republic.

When I look back upon the political life and publick services of this man, I feel a glow of conscious pride, at the array which it presents. We are *too* familiar with his history to duly appreciate the strong and characterizing points in it. We call him

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<sup>34</sup>Major Camp of Buffalo; of the Nat. Rep. party.

<sup>35</sup>At this Convention Henry Clay was nominated for President.





an eloquent man—a good legislator—a statesman—and, as a climax, in the sickly language of Jackson panegyrick, a *Republican*! But, sir, he is more—he is a Martyr, in the cause of constitutional liberty! It should be the boast of his friends, that, where duty pointed—when the constitution was threatened—let the danger be ever so great to his personal popularity, or the array of force ever so mighty, he was at his post. The War, the Seminole campaign, the Missouri question, the Tariff and Internal Improvements, and, last of all, his vote for Mr. Adams, stand up in proof of what I have here said.

Now, my good Sir, shall such a man be sacrificed? His fame is publick property—it should be guarded jealously, and not lightly offered up in any emergency. You will I know respond feelingly to this sentiment. He is the last hope of the country—he it is alone who can successfully lead the van in the great struggle that is approaching, in which will be arrayed the utmost strength of faction, urged on by British commercial interests in different combinations, warring against the industry, the prosperity, the very existence (I had almost said) of our beloved country. How and when is this battle to be fought, you will ask? In answer; It *should* have been fought at the approaching Presidential election. But the period for choosing our time has, I fear, passed. We have spent it in settling the preliminaries—in coaxing Antimasonry in New York, and in other moonshine expedients to unite the element of opposition. It *will* be fought, therefore, in 1836. What is to be done? I will give you my views in a few words. Let Mr. Clay decline the Baltimore nomination, *out of respect to publick opinion* (This will disarm Jacksonians) and enable him to discharge untrammelled his duty to his country in the new relation he has assumed. This will satisfy his friends. What, consent to flight, give up the cause, and yield the field? Not so—never. Pusillanimity and coward have no place in my *political* vocabulary, as you well know, let it apply where else it may. But it is our province to look truth full in the face, and we well know, as parties now stand, that Mr. Clay's election is as hopeless as salvation without repentance. Then what shall be done? The nomination declined, and Mr. Clay stands without a rival, at the head of a new organization, composed of recruits from all parties, (pledges for a second election to the "Military Chieftain" no longer be-



ing in the way,) having for its object, the support of the Tariff on modified principles, the rechartering of the U. S. Bank, and the advancement of Internal Improvements. What man, what combination of men could withstand this? The administration will be forced to take ground—the rats will be driven forth—temporizing politicians, with their injudicious systems, will be nailed to the wall, and the march to victory will be steady, trampling down all the mushroom *patriots* and *great men*, which the present misrule is so abundantly multiplying.

*Somebody* must head such a party, and to whom does the honor belong so richly as to Henry Clay? Then why should he be called upon to sacrifice himself, when there is no prospect that the offering will appease the gods. Let us be wise and if the minions of fashion must have a victim, on whose carcass they can whet their fangs, let them amuse themselves with Mr. Wirt,<sup>26</sup> until another, if he is not sufficient, can be provided. But let it not be Mr. Clay.

I do not throw out these suggestions, presuming that they are new. But the course of events is fast leading to a crisis which will call for action. The National debt is fast being extinguished, and a new state of things will be demanded. The Tariff must be revised; this is a delicate subject, which must be handled by skillful hands. Who but Mr. Clay, the great champion of the "American System" can act as umpire between the conflicting interests that will be aroused? If, in this great prospective work, he should acquit himself with his accustomed adroitness, he will again be, what he was before the pestiferous breath of Jackson slander was breathed over him, the favorite, the idol of the American people. Our friends at Washington and elsewhere, who assume to direct, must be made sensible of the necessity of some such step as the one here suggested.

I have written in great haste, from continued indisposition. If Gen. Porter<sup>27</sup> is at Washington, (which I doubt, although it was announced he would probably be at Baltimore) you will please tender him my respects and congratulations on the recovery of his health. I have much more which I could say on the sub-

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<sup>26</sup>William Wirt of Maryland, the presidential nominee of the Antimasons, 1831.

<sup>27</sup>Peter B. Porter, Sec. of War during Adam's administration, 1824-29; of the Nat. Rep. party.



pect of this letter, touching more particularly, managers and management in this state, but I forbear. Let me hear from you occasionally during your stay, and believe me,

Very respectfully, your obdt. humble servt.

O. Follett.

Maj. J. G. Camp.

[Original draft of letter.]

## VI.

### ORAN FOLLETT TO JOSEPH HOXIE.<sup>38</sup>

Feb. 6, 1832.

My Dr. Sir,

I wrote you a very hasty note some week or two ago, by a Mr. Nixon of your city, in which I said something of the state of things, politically, in this quarter and of our prospects in the future.

On the subject of our political condition, I have as you know, in common with yourself and most of our "hearts of oak", a deep and abiding feeling amounting to a perpetual declaration of war against the enemies of our internal peace, the present *mis*-rulers of the country. There is no sacrifice that I would not make, compatible with my duty to myself and children, to compass their downfall, and to place things where they used to rest, on their own proper merits. I believe this is a common feeling with the National Republicans throughout the union—it is one that can alone spring from convictions of right and duty, and such considerations as these, you know, only enter the calculations of the truly honest and intelligent politician, of which it should be our pride to say the National Republican party is mostly composed.

Now, my dear Sir, what should be done to carry out our views in this matter? What would become such a party to do, to attain their objects? The mere expression of individual opinion is not going to answer any valuable purpose, inasmuch as such expression is not uniform, and leads not to concentrated

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<sup>38</sup>Joseph Hoxie, active politician, especially known as a campaign vocalist during the presidential campaigns of W. H. Harrison and Clay. Cf. Appleton's Biog. Cyclop.



and united action. But there should be both uniformity and concentration. There should be one common center, one head, one general organ, through which the voice of the whole could be heard; and this organ should be so constituted as to command and so directed as to deserve the respect and attention of all. In this I am clearly convinced, as no doubt you are, and our friends generally in the city and elsewhere.

It is a wrong policy founded in a false estimate of things, that makes us too wise, in any of the relations of life, to learn wisdom of our enemies. In this particular of which I have been speaking, our opponents have taught us a lesson (and they have improved wonderfully upon the original plan by time and experience) that should not be overlooked. I allude, as you will understand, to the central power at Albany, of which the Argus is the organ, dispensing light, and issuing commands to the remotest corner of the State. A concentration of power is apt to beget aristocracy, and to lead to abuses—true—in all such matters it is the province of wisdom and prudence, nay, patriotism, to make a choice between evils and to endure the smaller for the good of the great whole.

But how can such an influence be created at Albany, and how sustained? "God said let there be light, and there was light", "The vox populi" &c. The voice of the people is the voice of God. And who is it gives voice to the will of the people? It is the humble man of types and paper, who is himself controlled by cash. Plant deep "the root of all evil", and good will spring from it. We have but to will it and it is done—apply the talisman and a genius springs forth that will pervade the whole State, shedding light and giving life and vigour in all directions, and to all our action.

This is not poetry, it is sober truth, and you have the man amongst you calculated to assume the editorial management of a paper at Albany, of the kind needed. I mean, Jenks, of the *Ev'g Journal*. If he is not sufficiently known to the State, to give it character in the outset, let some one be associated with him.

But where is the cash to come from, and how much is wanted? You have a hundred men in N. York who will pay \$100 each for such a purpose. I will pledge myself for *one*, at least, in Buffalo; and should the suggestion ever be acted on, I think as





many as four just men may be found. Put down Rochester for four more—Canandaigua, Geneva, Auburn, Utica & Schenectady, for like number each. Albany, *ten*; N. Y. and the river towns, *twenty*, we have enough to *start* with. 'This sum should not be raised as a forlorn hope, as a means of accomplishing one object only, but for the purpose of establishing a central influence as permanent as the necessity for its creation—one that should oppose itself to the influence already existing, steadily, eternally, or at least until triumphant.

Difficulties might arise as to how, and into whose hands, this power should be lodged. Create it first and it will then most assuredly take care of itself. The power that created could annul—a common interest would produce mutual dependence, and a common danger union.

But enough of detail, fill up the sketch as you may like it. Let me hear from you on the subject, when you shall have consulted with your friends, such as you know feel right and have the will to do. The want of organization has destroyed us, and a complete organization cannot be brought about, without using adequate means. In the moral, as in the physical world, cause precedes effect.

Your obdt. humble servt. & friend

[O. Follett.]

(Original draft of letter.)

## VII.

### ORAN FOLLETT TO JOSEPH HOXIE

Feby. 13, 1832.

.....  
You will think, by and by, that I am made up of words, and that I use them mostly in writing letters. But it is not so, I assure you—I write but little, and talk less.

There has a crotchet got into my head, however, for troubling our good friends, the Regency folks, which I should like to see carried out, and which I believe is not difficult of execution. It is, to start Gen. Root<sup>39</sup> as a candidate for Governour—the *Republican* candidate, too! think of that.

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<sup>39</sup>See Note 9.



Without further circumlocution, these are my views. We all know how the Gen. estimates the Albany clan, and the great disposition he has for bolting—not from the party, but from their domination. For, in relation to them, and all such matters, the Gen[eral]’s rule is to keep within party lines, well knowing, as he expresses himself, that when we cease to be *Republicans*, we lose our influence, &c.—Though Gen. you know, is a staunch Republican in the estimation of the *People*, and has greater power amongst them in this State, than any other man save Gen. Jackson himself. He is no favorite with the Regency—they dare not trust him—he is too blunt and honest. Now, how shall we avail ourselves of the power of his name against them? I think it can be done through the *Courier & Enquirer*,<sup>40</sup> the *Craftsman*,<sup>41</sup> and some other papers similarly situated.

It is hard to acknowledge it, but in this State, we have nothing to expect at the next election, from our own strength. We have much to hope from the dissensions amongst our enemies. It should be our policy, I think, to divide them up into as many different interests as possible, so that after the Presidential canvass they will be forced, some of them, to seek elsewhere than under the Regency flag. In order to do anything ourselves, we have got to assume high and independent ground in our future operations. We must show a bold front, and make a display of means to maintain it. Then, as matter of course, we shall become the center of attraction for all the fragments that shall have been broken off from the *great lump* of Republicanism by the collisions incident to a war in their own camp.

The *Courier* stands pledged to oppose itself to the Albany interest. This it *must* do or be swallowed up. Like other men of policy (regardless of principle) its managers will gladly accept aid to raise themselves above their enemies, or, more properly speaking, to sustain themselves against their attacks. They dare not abandon the party for the moment they do, in obedience to a general law of nature, they sink beneath the surface of their native element, filth and corruption, and are lost forever.

They must be approached, therefore, cautiously—we poor Nationals, it can be safely said, do not expect to be able to run a candidate successfully—we cannot go with the *Antis*, they are

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<sup>40</sup>N. Y. city newspaper, ed. by J. W. Webb.

<sup>41</sup>Rochester newspaper.



too faithless, and we do not like to go with the Regency people. We are Republicans, gentlemen with the highest pretensions, and should therefore choose to support a genuine Republican of the old school on his own merits, if an opportunity can be afforded without obliging us to bow ourselves in humble submission at the throne of either party, as now constituted and led. We will have nothing to do with getting up your candidate; but if you will bring forward some old Democrat, like Gen. Root, when the time for action comes, we shall necessarily be found with you in the choice of evils which we shall be forced to make.

The simplicity of some such a proposition will be apt to take with the malcontents. This has nothing else to recommend it; and, if the hostility of the Anti-Regency Jacksonians, (and they are numerous after all in every quarter of the State) can be brought to this point, the downfall of the party is accomplished—the door is thus opened for interior operations that will beyond a doubt, place our friends in power at the Governor's election in 1834. The Senate will remain, it is true, a nucleus around which the corruptionists will gather. To reach this, in addition to future elections, we must depend upon the use of the same means that has made it what it is—fear, and the hope of reward, pledges, and payments when convenient.

You may think me extravagant. A moment's reflection will convince you that I am not, provided we commence aright and in season, with our general state organization. Without this, I confess, we are worse than nothing to ourselves, and consequently neither to be loved or feared by our enemies. Take for granted, what I expect ~~was~~ the fact one year ago, that there is an undoubted Anti-Regency majority in this State, disposed to act if an opportunity be afforded, and what is to prevent a triumphant march of power? One year ago there was, I will venture to affirm, 20,000 majority *against* the Regency in this state. And what has become of it? It has been frittered away by indecision on our part—or rather the want of correct and perfect organization has kept it back, it could not show itself; there was no point of attack sufficiently clear to draw it out. It has now, much of it, fallen back into the Regency ranks, the better to oppose Anti-Masonry—the rest lies dormant, and no shout from the Anti-Masonick "watch-towers" will ever rouse it.

Let us be up and doing then. We must have funds for



travelling agents, for printing pamphlets and handbills, and for sustaining a paper at the political centre. Three months time is sufficient for all this, if we act decisively. We may then, perhaps, make fight "on our own hook" at the next Governour's election. Away with *expedients* in such a case—no temporizing—but we will march on directly to the point, and conquer, or fall in the timbers.

My respects to all our friends with whom I am acquainted,  
and believe me,

Sincerely yours,

[O. Follett.]

[Original draft of letter]

### VIII.

#### JOSEPH HOXIE TO ORAN FOLLETT

New York 23rd March 1832

Dear Follett

I am indebted to you for your several favors of Jan. 24, Feb. 6 & 13th, all of which I could have answered sooner if it had been in my power to have written anything satisfactory.

Being apprehensive that you might lose all patience, or die of old age, before our friends here would do anything, I have concluded to say to you that our friends from the city with others from the River Counties & such other parts of the state as can attend, will meet informally at Albany on the 5th April. & will then & there agree upon the plan of the coming campaign. It would have been very desirable to have your good company, but the time since this determination was made was too short for us reasonably to expect the attendance of friends so remote, at this unpleasant season. At present I can form no idea of the policy to be pursued in the next election, but the moment our friends decide I will inform you. Old Root<sup>42</sup> you will perceive is out upon the Regency & the *consistent* Courier & Enquirer is out upon him, although itself at war with the "Money changers". And so we go and what the d—l will become of

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<sup>42</sup>Root's resentment against the Jackson party for their failure to nominate him for Gov. instead of Marcy, led him to make speeches against that party shortly after accepting his nomination by them, for U. S. Cong. His lack of good faith met the disapproval of Webb, ed. of the Courier & Exp., although opposing the Jackson party himself.





us, who can tell? The news today is that the Gov.<sup>43</sup> of Georgia will not submit to the decision of the Supreme Court. What next? "nous verrons" as the Sage Ritchie<sup>44</sup> would say. Do you see how Cambrelling,<sup>45</sup> Archer,<sup>46</sup> & others of the party are "Soaping" J. Q. Adams? Who would have thought that the scales would so soon have fallen from their eyes, and they be permitted to see and acknowledge the talents and integrity of that man, whom they vilified as a corrupt coalitionist, and whom they succeeded in displacing & elevating in his place the miserable "thing" now at the head of affairs.

Hoping soon to have it in my power to write something more satisfactory

I remain yours sincerely

Joseph Hoxie

O Follet, Esqr.

Buffalo, N. Y.

## IX.

### THURLOW WEED TO ORAN FOLLETT.

Albany, 10th May, 1832

My Dr Follett,

I called for a copy of your charter which was taken today by Mr. Russell.

I was rejoiced to hear from you, and still more so, to find you in so amiable a frame of mind. There is a great work in hand, which may be surely and certainly wrought out, if we *will* it. I am abundantly persuaded you will do your part, and that part, permit me to say, is a most important and responsible one. Yours, is the most leading and responsible national paper<sup>47</sup> out of the city of New York. But all this you see and feel.

Things look well—exceedingly well. The whole tenor and tone of thinking and speaking is changed. All men opposed to

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<sup>43</sup>Gov. Wilson Lumpkin refused to accept the decision of U. S. Supt. Ct. holding the law of Georgia unconstitutional which extended the jurisdiction of the State over the Cherokee lands, etc.

<sup>44</sup>Thomas Ritchie, editor of the Richmond (Va.) Examiner.

<sup>45</sup>Churchill C. Cambrelling, went from N. Car. to New York; mem. of Cong. 1821-39.

<sup>46</sup>William S. Archer of Virginia., mem of Cong. 1820-35.

<sup>47</sup>Buffalo Daily Journal.



Jackson and Regency seem determined to act together. If this determination is adhered to all is safe.

The C. & E.<sup>48</sup> I think, offers a pretty good explanation of its Bank affairs, and is strong enough to worry the Regency greatly. If Marcy<sup>49</sup> denounces the C. & E. (which he must do or not get the nomination) they will come out against the Herkimer nomination. The City of New York is ripe for "reform." The River Counties will do far better than before. Indeed, if we unite, as we must, many of them will give us a majority.

Root intends to run, nolens volens, but may not. He is separated from them forever. The New York folks, Nelson<sup>50</sup> of Westchester, Walt Cunningham,<sup>51</sup> Gen. Haight,<sup>52</sup> Jordan,<sup>53</sup> the Rensselaer Clay man, with those of this County, and the Washington County people are all doing well.

At the adjournment, more than one third of the Jackson Members of the House, were dead Anti-Regency.

I wish I could see you often. Will you be this way during the summer? Your brother and myself continue neighbors, and are quite cozy. He is well.

Yours faithfully

T. Weed

Since the weather moderates Jacksonianism *stinks* at Washington. What a cursed state of things!

## X.

### JOSEPH HOXIE TO ORAN FOLLETT

New York 11th May 1832

O. Follett, Esqr

Dr Sir

I have waited a long time to be able to write to you encouragingly on the subject of the approaching election. There

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<sup>48</sup>"C. & E." and "its Bank affairs" may refer to the N. Y. Courier & Enquirer and its support of the U. S. Bank party.

<sup>49</sup>William L. Marcy, U. S. Sen. 1831-33 but resigned after his election for Gov. 1832. Re-elected Gov. 1834. He was of the Regency party.

<sup>50</sup>William Nelson. Cf. Autobiog. of Thurlow Weed, v. I, p. 107.

<sup>51</sup>Walter Cunningham of Poughkeepsie. Ibid.

<sup>52</sup>Gen. Jacob Haight. Ibid.

<sup>53</sup>Ambrose L. Jordan. Ibid.



is no fact more clearly established to my mind than this, viz, If three tickets are run in this State we shall be found in a fearful minority, and then the question arises that has so long perplexed us, how shall the opposition be united? In my last I stated to you that some of our friends would meet at Albany on the 5th April for the purpose of consultation; they did so meet and the following plan was discussed and agreed on, viz, that we lie still until the Anti Convention shall have been held, at which an electoral ticket shall be nominated composed  $\frac{1}{2}$  of *Antis*, and  $\frac{1}{2}$  of *Clay men*, & probably Granger & Strong for Gov. & Lieut. Gov., the electoral ticket pledged to go against Jackson, and with the understanding that if the vote of New York will make Mr. Clay president, he is to have them all, if not the Antis may as well vote for Wirt or not, as it will only send the choice to the House. This arrangement is satisfactory to our friends here generally, and I believe in the River counties. With a view to prepare the public mind for this you have doubtless seen and observed the tone of some of our papers of late touching the "union of honest men" &c. The Daily Advertiser and E[vening] Journal at Albany you will also perceive are no longer at loggerheads. I see you are organizing and that is important.

Should the Antis do as they have promised, (& I think they will) at their Convention in June, it will perhaps be necessary that we have a Convention in August or Sept<sup>r</sup> to endorse their nomination (if we approve it) so that we may be able to complete our organization & call out our friends to give the ticket a united and vigorous support. This appears to me to be the only plan that is at all feasible, & holds out any prospect of success—if it can be carried into effect I think we shall succeed, if not, thank God, we have nothing to lose. A wag observed to me a few days since he thought "we were looking up, being flat on our backs we could look no other way."

What think you of the proposed arrangement? If carried out, must we not inevitably triumph? My respects to all friends, "Dont give up the ship."

Very sincerely, Your friend

J. Hoxie.



# XI.

## JOSEPH HOXIE TO ORAN FOLLETT

New York 30th May, 1832.

O. Follett, Esqr.

Dr Sir,

A few evenings since I had the pleasure of meeting a few friends from different parts of the State and although we could do nothing formally, we exchanged opinions freely and the following was the unanimous determination of all present, viz, That we should have a convention, that it be held at *Albany* subsequently to the Antimasonic, the precise time to be determined by the State Corresponding Committee from whom the call will emanate.

It is expected that the Antis in June will make such a nomination as we can consistently support both for Electors and State officers, and the principal object to be effected by our Convention will be to give our friends confidence in such nomination, and ensure for it a powerful support, in other words, to endorse it. We are induced to believe and we do believe the Anti-masons will give us *half* the Electoral ticket with the understanding, that if the entire vote of this State will make Mr. Clay president, he is to have *all*. Now, I wish you as far as you can, not only in your district, but wherever your influence extends [would] see that suitable men are sent to the Antimasonic convention in June. Men of liberality of feeling and such as are willing to make some sacrifice, if necessary, to save the country. At our little *caucus* (excuse the name), the counties of Westchester, Columbia, Rensselaer, Albany, Oneida, Washington, & Livingston were represented, & of our city friends, D. B. Ogden,<sup>54</sup> Ketchum,<sup>55</sup> Blunt,<sup>56</sup> Jenks<sup>57</sup> & your humble servant were present. All agreed for the present we had better keep pretty still, at any rate do nothing to alarm the Antis, but to promote to the extent of our power a good understanding & good feeling.

Yours truly,

Joseph Hoxie

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<sup>54</sup>David B. Ogden of New York City.

<sup>55</sup>Hiram Ketcham of New York City.

<sup>56</sup>Joseph Blunt of New York City.

<sup>57</sup>Jenks of the Evening Journal of Albany.





## XII.

### JOSEPH HOXIE TO ORAN FOLLETT

New York 28th June 1832

O. Follett, Esqr.

Dr Sir

I wish to congratulate you and all our friends on the happy result of the convention at Utica. I have as yet heard not a solitary complaint. You will perceive that the mandate has gone forth to assemble at the same place on the 25 July; now you know as well as I how important it is that it should be numerously attended, and you also know that on you will rest in a great measure the responsibility & trouble of attending to the Western Counties. You probably cannot afford to spend a great deal of time & money—I know you bleed freely but I am not willing to ride you to death. Can you command funds at Buffalo? We want a great deal here not only for this cursed County but *Westchester, Rockland, Richmond, Kings, Queens, & Suffolk* all look to the city for the *needful*. Will not Porter, Rochester, and others open their purses? When we have such glorious prospects, who will refuse. But the work must be done, my whole soul is in the cause, we shall surely succeed if we exert ourselves, and for one, I am determined to have no stone unturned. I pray you go to work at once by correspondence or otherwise to stir up our friends in all the Great West; that *every County* may be represented in the Convention at Utica on the 25 July—put Camp & other friends in requisition—request them to write to every person they know in the several counties requesting them to be up & doing. Gen. Porter<sup>58</sup> can *write* if he can't *hear*. I have so much to do *at* and *about* home that I must not promise much, but if you find difficulty in starting them, and should find it necessary to spend a little money, you may draw on me at sight for Fifty dollars to help along. I know this is not a large sum, but if you can get plenty of them you can get along—if the *liberality* of our friends at Buffalo has any proportion to their means you will have no difficulty. Let me hear from you soon & again let me entreat you to take hold in earnest.

Yours faithfully

Joseph Hoxie

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<sup>58</sup>See Note 36.



### XIII.

#### ORAN FOLLETT TO GEORGE H. BOUGHTON<sup>59</sup>

Buffalo, July 16, 1832.

My Dr. Sir,

Ever since your name was announced as one of the candidates for Presidential Elector, it has been my determination, in the spirit of friendly inquiry, to ask you several questions, touching the course you might feel it your duty to pursue, should you be successful in your election. Your answers, I trust, will be as free and sincere as the motive which dictates the inquiry.

Taking it for granted as I do, that the first object of every friend of his country, at this conjunction, is to prevent the re-election of Gen. Jackson, would you, (should the case present) give your vote for Mr. Clay, instead of Mr. Wirt, provided the chance for defeating Gen. Jackson should in the opinion of discreet friends be increased by so doing? Or should it be reduced to a certainty, (as nearly so as human foresight will allow) that the vote of this state united for Mr. Clay would elect him, when, if given for Mr. Wirt, it would carry the question to the house, would you, in that case, feel at liberty to give your vote for Mr. Clay?

There are several contingences that might be imagined, but I do not care to state them. My desire is merely to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion for myself, that, in the event of my using my feeble exertions to promote the success of the Electoral Ticket nominated, I shall be labouring for the advancement of the great and leading interests of the country, not of a party. If I know my own feelings, and I believe I speak the sentiments of our friends generally in the state, I would do nothing to prevent the election of Mr. Wirt over Mr. Clay provided his claims of success should be greater than Mr. Clay's, and provided also that the redemption of the country can be as well or better accomplished through the elevation of the former as of the latter. I would effect and render certain the overthrow of the present corrupt power with as little violence as possible to the

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<sup>59</sup>George H. Boughton of Canandaigua, and Lockport, State Sen. and Canal Commission; Mem. of the Antimasonic Convention, 1828, and of their National Convention at Baltimore, 1831. Cf. Autobiog. of Thurlow Weed.



present state of the opposition—satisfied that any change would be for the better, and unwilling to lessen the chance of success by contentions about minor points.

It may suggest itself to your mind that I make these inquiries at the instance of others. Lest this idea, should it obtrude itself, might prevent a free expression of your feelings and opinions, (so far as I might otherwise be thought entitled to receive them on the score of "old acquaintance") I assure you that I write for my own satisfaction at instance of no one, and further, that your answer, whatever it may be, shall be considered in just such a light as you may prescribe, and be used only as you may direct.

I feel an unusual degree of solicitude about the approaching election. Important interests are at stake—the permanency of the union itself may rest on the issue of this contest. It is no time to stand about trifles. The work can and must be done. Who then shall stand back? He who sees when he can strike an effective blow for the salvation of his country and refuses his might, is a traitor! I am determined that the charge shall not rest on my name.

The *veto* has put on the finishing stroke. Who ever saw from the pen of a *statesman*, so much pettifogging, quibbling, and assumption? *Van* is called a third rate lawyer. Most of the objections in the veto can claim no higher origin, whether they are from *Van's* pen or the pen of some other sage.

Let me hear from you immediately, for your answer to the points suggested above will have some influence on my future course.

Your obdt. humble servt. & friend

O. Follett.

G. H. Boughton, Esq.

#### XIV.

ORAN FOLLETT TO HARRY D. CHIPMAN.

Buffalo, Aug. 6, 1832.

My Dr. Sir

I rec<sup>d</sup> yours of the 1st this morning, and hasten to reply to it. It is certainly desirable to change the course of any and *all* the Jackson papers that we can reach. As to the distinctive character they shall assume, whether Nat. Repub. or Antimask



[Antimasonick] I do not think it can make much difference which, for eventually, the Antis have got to come to us or sink. Admit, if you please, (to gratify their vanity) that they have the physical force—we have the moral power, and to us they must adhere for countenance and support before the state and nation. Our leading men are pure and numerous; theirs are political hacks, and have no character to sustain them, even should they feel disposed to thrust us off. They *must* come to us eventually, however they may talk now. We occupy the National field and they cannot take it from us. We are identified with the great interests of the country, such as Tariff, Improvements, Banks, Judiciary question, &c. &c. They are of local origin, and quite *too domestick* for extended operations. A Victory this fall, however gained, will therefore put us on stilts, and the organization that will follow, of a *National* party must be for our benefit. For any arrangement you may make for changing the politicks of the *Monroe Repub<sup>n</sup>* reference should solely be had to the greatest amount of good the change will produce to the *Anti-Jackson* cause having all minor considerations out of the question. These are summarily my views, submitted for your benefit and the benefit of *our friends*, if you shall think them of any value.

What paper is this *Monroe Repub<sup>n</sup>*? It is, as I understand it, the *old* Jackson paper of your village; or is it, the new one? If in the arrangement which shall be made, you should need any pecuniary assistance, we here will try to lend a helping hand. But it does not signify being too nice, our friends at Roch<sup>r</sup> *must* step forward, Childs, Barnard, Reynolds, Hawley, &c &c, are able and ought to help you. Gheenleaf, your late delegate to the Convention (who by the by I found a very intelligent and clever fellow) with others amongst you, should make those Rochester gentlemen to do. If we put forth our power the victory is assuredly ours. Then why hesitate? We must spend and be spent in the good cause. I am glad to find you so heartily engaged. When *Masons* of our standing, *can be induced from considerations of duty*, to make the sacrifices we have, and are making, our opponents must give us credit for devotion, if nothing more.





I remain, Sir, with considerations of high esteem,

Your obdt. servt, and friend,

O. Follett

H. D. Chipman, Esq.

Brockport. [Monroe Co., N. Y.]

## XV.

### HIRAM KETCHUM TO STATE CORRESPONDING COMMITTEE IN BUFFALO.

New York, August 10th, 1832.

Gentlemen,

The branch of the National Republican State Corresponding Committee appointed at the recent Convention, resident in the city of New York, are desirous of opening and continuing a correspondence with you, as a branch of the same committee, resident in Buffalo. We have the pleasure of informing you that the proceedings of the late Convention have given great satisfaction to our friends here; the necessity of adopting the tickets already in nomination was sufficiently apparent, if we would cherish a hope of success, and the reasons for such adoption, set forth in the address, are such we think as honorable men, and patriotic citizens, ought not to be ashamed of avowing. The Convention by their manifesto are careful to let the people of this and all other States know that though they adopt the Anti-masonic nominations, they are not anti-masons. In the judgment of our friends here, nothing is now required but vigorous effort, to secure the election of the ticket nominated by the opposition, and such exertions they are willing to make; there is much for our friends throughout the State to do, and but a short time to do it in. We would suggest the propriety of publishing early calls for County Conventions of our friends, though it may not be convenient to hold such conventions until a late day; such notices give the appearance of action, and encourage our friends in other States. It seems to us also that pains should be taken to give local circulation to the ablest newspapers in support of our cause. We are advised of the names of your County Corresponding Committee, and should be pleased to be provided with the names and address of the Committees of other Counties in your vicinity, we should be pleased also



to receive any information or suggestions from you, which in your judgment will aid our cause. What do you learn from Ohio, can we do anything to produce union among the opposition in that State?

On behalf of the N. Y. branch of the State Corresponding Committee I have the honor to be yr most obt. servt.

Hiram Ketchum

To

Heman B. Potter

David Burt

John G. Camp

Sheldon Smith

Oran Follett *Enquirer*

Buffalo.

## XVI.

DUFF GREEN<sup>60</sup> TO ORAN FOLLETT.

Washington, Sept. 10, 1832.

Dear Sir:

I have the pleasure to acknowledge your letter of the 4 enclosing ten dollars, and ordering Twenty copies of the Extra Telegraph. The first and second numbers will be sent you immediately and the others as they are published. Please accept my thanks and do me the favor to give such circulation to the annexed prospectus<sup>61</sup> as your opportunities permit. I would suggest that much good could be done by your Committee's ordering a number of copies for distribution on steam-boats, Taverns and places of public resort. A small sum applied in this way (unfelt by each contributor) would be well repaid if so important a State as N. York is secured to the opposition. The time intervening between this and the election is short, & promptitude, decision & energy on the part of the opposition (all that is wanting to insure complete success) must be used, or we may have cause to regret our inactivity when too late.

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<sup>60</sup>Duff Green, a supporter of Henry Clay for President 1832, had been editor of the administrative organ, "The United States Telegram" in Washington.

<sup>61</sup>Niles Weekly Register, v. XLIII, p. 11, contains a copy of this prospectus, which vigorously opposed the re-election of President Jackson.



I want my Extras to be extensively seen & read as its exposition will bear hard on the old chief<sup>62</sup> and his hangers on. I have only to add that my subscription list goes on admirably, and my extensive intelligence from the States, heretofore considered doubtful, is of the most flattering nature.

Very Respectfully, I am Sir, &c

D. Green.

O. Follett, Esq.  
Buffalo, N. Y.

## XVII.

HIRAM KETCHAM<sup>63</sup> TO ORAN FOLLETT

Private

New York, Sep. 13, 1832.

Dear Sir

Your letter of the 16th ultimo has served an excellent purpose by developing the character and views of D. C. Miller.<sup>64</sup> I tell you in *entire confidence* that this rascal of an Anti has written a long letter to Chancellor Kent,<sup>65</sup> requesting him to state how he should vote if elected. He will receive no answer. Now, your letter has been useful in producing this result, I shall not commit to paper, but if we ever meet you shall know all about it, in the meantime, from motives of delicacy to the distinguished gentleman on our ticket, *entire* silence is the word. Do watch the movements of the enemy, and report what you ascertain. We have called a meeting of the citizens generally *under our own name*, for Thursday evening of next week, and the Wards for the Monday following. I do not like to disappoint distant friends, but we feel like doing some thing handsome; we shall look too, to our neighbouring Counties.

Our branch of the State Corresponding Com. have established an office No. 3 Broad Street whense all our documents

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<sup>62</sup>Andrew Jackson.

<sup>63</sup>Mem. of the Nat. Rep. State Cent. Cor. Committee in New York.

<sup>64</sup>David C. Miller, printer of Batavia, who agreed to publish for Wm. Morgan the secrets of Free Masonry. Cf. Alexander's Polit. Hist. of N. Y., v. II, p. 417.

<sup>65</sup>Chancellor James Kent, the noted jurist and author.



will be issued, and where our friends will be received; had you not better do likewise? How stands Cash matters with you, write me fully *as to your thinking*; not that I can promise you anything but good wishes but I have a hope that our rich men will shell out. I like "Plain talk to plain men", who wrote it, there should be a circular of this paper or a handbill. Read all your papers 'til after the election for our office. Would you like some and how many of Duff Green's papers, if so, how shall they be sent? We shall have some to spare; it seems to me as they are nothing but *Anti*, they might scent the *Anti*; if you get up any good handbills send us copies, and we will do the same, please indicate the best mode of transmission. We are doing what we can in reference to Ohio.

Yours truly

Hiram Ketchum

Oran Follett,

Do not fail to put all the electors in your vicinity on their guard, let them say nothing *nor write anything*

## XVIII.

### NATIONAL REPUBLICAN STATE CENTRAL CORRESPONDING COMMITTEE TO THE STATE CORRESPONDING COMMITTEE IN BUFFALO.

New York 14 Sept 1832

Gentlemen,

Facts that have come to the knowledge of this branch of the State Committee induces us to believe that the Jackson party, in addition to the public calls in the newspapers upon the electors for a disclosure of their opinions and intentions, and publications of fabricated private conversations with some of them, are now engaged in procuring *professed* Antimasons to write letters in their own names to the electors, asking information as to their intentions in case they shall be elected. The answers to those letters will certainly be published if they can be procured, and the injurious effects of such publications are too obvious to require an enlarged statement. We believe after the most deliberate reflection that *no answer* to any letter of such import could be drawn that would not by publication in some part of the State produce the most injurious effects. No elector surely can recognize the right of any private individual to put





interrogatories which neither the Convention which nominated the electoral Ticket nor the Convention which adopted that nomination have thought proper to propound. Indeed it is due from the electors themselves to those Conventions, not to break their silence which the Conventions themselves have imposed. To this may be added the assurance that no such letters will be written by any friend of the Con[vention], they will be the mere devices of the enemy, seeking to destroy our present prosperous condition. It seems of the last importance to this branch of the Committee that pains should be taken to enforce upon every elector nominated upon our Ticket the absolute necessity of meeting with utter silence every attempt upon or application to them, either written or verbal.

You are earnestly requested to see to it, and that every elector in your vicinity is immediately put on his guard against any attempts to draw confessions or declarations from him & this Committee thinks it prudent that the communications with the electors should be oral and not by correspondence. The New York branch of the Committee have established an office at No. 3 Broad Street in this city, in which there will be at all times of day a person in attendance to communicate with the friends of our cause. They recommend the establishment of such an office by your branch of the Comm<sup>t</sup> & the employment of a Clerk for the purpose of ensuring an immediate compliance with this request this branch of the committee have been enabled to raise a small fund from which you are at liberty to draw (if you have not funds provided) at three days sight for one hundred dollars towards defraying the expenses of the proposed establishment. Draw upon Joseph Hoxie, New York, and you will please give us as accurate information as you can as to our prospects in your part of the State & particularly whether any yet appears indicating that the Anti Masons will not support the Electoral *pari passu* with that for the Gov<sup>r</sup> & Lieut.

Yours

H. Ketcham	} N. Y.
Geo. F. Talman	
S. G. Raymond	
Wm. Acker	
Th <sup>s</sup> Z. Wells	
	Cor.
	Com.

[Addressed on back of letter to "Heman B. Potter, Esq., Buffalo," and endorsed "Answ<sup>d</sup> Sept. 19, by O. F."]



## XIX.

### JOHN YOUNGS TO THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN STATE CORRESPONDING COMMITTEE IN BUFFALO.

Burdette, Tomkins Co. N. Y. Sept. 19, 1832.

Gentlemen:

As a Delegate to the National Republican State convention, held at Utica, on the 25th & 26th of July last, I take the liberty of addressing you, as members of the State corresponding committee, appointed by that convention, upon the subject of the approaching election. In order to arrest the *misrule* of the present National & State administration, a *united exertion* of the political opponents of Gen<sup>l</sup> Jackson, will be necessary.

By one *common effort*, we shall retrieve the character of New York, by *division* all is lost. The prostituted newspapers of a corrupt administration, are making desperate efforts to produce *division* in our ranks. Whatever differences of opinion, may have existed in consequence of the unfortunate question of Anti-Masonry, still in the present political controversy, all *party distinctions must cease*, & the friends of the Constitution, must sacrifice minor considerations, to the great interests of the Union.

In this region we have called meetings of those "opposed to the misrule of the present National & State administrations," &c. Those meetings have been well sustained, & have *done more* towards uniting the opponents of Gen<sup>l</sup> Jackson, than any measure which has been adopted, during the present political controversy. State Conventions, however important they may be, have a *general* effect; & to bring the question home, the people themselves must convene & interchange opinions. Permit me to suggest to you, the propriety of calling similar meetings; & should you do so, please forward me a copy of your proceedings.

Every thing depends upon *success*, *defeat is ruin*. The deep interest I feel in the perpetuity of our civil institutions, must be my excuse for this intrusion.

I am Gentlemen, very Respectfully  
Yours &c.

Messrs. H. B. Potter  
David Burt  
John G. Camp  
Sheldon Smith  
& Oran Follett

State Cor. Com.

J. Youngs.



## JOSEPH HOXIE TO ORAN FOLLETT

New York 28th, Sep 1832

Dr Follett

I am very much obliged to you for your good letter of the 14th inst. which I would have answered sooner but for the d——d politics which occupy more than half my time, so I have little left for business or friends.

When I feel dumpish I read over your letter & I assure you it exhilarates me. I wish I could talk of such majorities in this section of the state—but you may be assured that there is a spirit aroused here, not known since the War. Our Ward meetings on Monday night were more numerously attended than on any former occasion, you can judge of the spirit which prevailed, by their resolution. Old veterans were present who have not attended a political meeting for ten years, & some who have not voted during that time, everything looks exceedingly well in this part of the State. I have never seen such a feeling & interest excited as at the present time.

Have you seen the Herkimer<sup>66</sup> estimate? They have estimated Granger's<sup>67</sup> majority in your county at 1500 & Marcy's<sup>68</sup> in this city at 5,000 both a little wide of the mark. I have had a long talk with Efner,<sup>69</sup> he, as you say, is not quite satisfied with his situation, but I very much fear that he will not abandon it. I have no doubt he would agree to vote the Electoral ticket, if I would vote for Marcy, but I can't do it, in politics as in every thing else I must act in good faith or not at all. He says Rochester<sup>70</sup> and others will vote in that way, is it so? I can't reconcile it to my conscience.

Tell the fat Justice<sup>71</sup> that I always loved him, & that now,

<sup>66</sup>Estimates of the Bucktail party, who held their Convention, Sept. 19, 1832, in Herkimer, when Marcy was nominated for Gov.

<sup>67</sup>See Note 8.

<sup>68</sup>See Note 49.

<sup>69</sup>Elijah D. Effner of Buffalo.

<sup>70</sup>William B. Rochester was nominated by the Bucktails for Gov. 1826, but was defeated, and in 1827 was defeated for U. S. Sen. Through the efforts of Henry Clay in 1835, he was appointed minister to Panama.

<sup>71</sup>Albert H. Tracy.



if I could possibly be spared, I would make a journey to the *beautiful city* of the West to take him by the hand; tell him to work the little time that remains before the election, & his *friends*, his CHILDREN, and his COUNTRY will bless him. M. L. D.<sup>72</sup> probably gave you an estimate of the majorities in this district, I think that a liberal one for our opponents—he put down the city 4.000 against us? My best judgment tells me it will be less than that, probably 3000, but as our opponents have pr...t.d it at 5.000 you could probably get bets on that number. I think you will surely win all that you can bet from 5000 down to 3500, *of this I have not a particle of doubt*. I cannot form an estimate of the probable effect of Webb's<sup>73</sup> course, I do not think it will be as great as some of our friends calculate, still it will help some.

Our Gen. Committee has no estimate of the "*Grand result*" nor can we make one at present. Your opinion on that subject is as good as the united opinion of our committee. Should anything occur to enable me to give you any definite information, I will do so.

Yours very sincerely

Joseph Hoxie.

O. Follett, Esq.

Buffalo, N. Y.

## XXI.

### ORAN FOLLETT TO HENRY CLAY

Jan'y 10, 1833.

Sir,

You will pardon this communication, coming from one personally unknown to you, when you discover its object. I do not possess a greater regard for the interests and honour of the country than may reasonably be claimed by any citizen of fair and honest pretensions. But the present condition of things suggest gloomy forebodings, and what so natural as an applica-

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<sup>72</sup>Probably Matthew L. Davis of New York City.

<sup>73</sup>James Watson Webb, ed. of the N. Y. Courier, which he combined with the Enquirer 1829. He left the Jackson party, 1832, after the veto of the Bank bill, and supported the Whigs. Cf. Alexander's Polit. Hist. of N. Y. Also, see Niles' Weekly Register, v. XLIII, p. 11, for address by him explaining his position.





tion for light and direction to those who may be supposed capable of affording both?

I will not trouble you with a tedious detail, all I would say of the *past* and *present* is familiar to you. Your knowledge of the history of our government and your understanding of the spirit that guides our councils at this period, enables you to look upon the *future* as though it were already history. In this conjunction, allow me to ask, what is to be done? I appeal to you directly, from a conviction that you know what is contemplated by the friends of the Union, and because I believe that an outline of future operations should be imparted to the Nat. Repub. party without delay to prevent a wrong conception of duty.

The President's<sup>74</sup> late proclamation has opened the door for much mischief in this state and the northern and middle states generally. Of this you must be aware. Mr. Van B[uren] is already on the alert, availing himself of the feeling which this document has excited, making propositions to our old friends; and, here let me observe these propositions are not without success. His policy you can not fail to understand. The message of Gov. Marcy reveals this in plain lines. He will strain to place himself between the great parties of the *south* and the *north*, in the attitude of mediator, beckoning to each in turn by condemning the ultra doctrines of both, until the publick mind is prepared for the blow. Nullification, in its broad sense, will be condemned to satisfy northern scruples, and to soften the south, the principle of protection will be abandoned, and the tariff cut down so as to yield a revenue barely equal to the demands of the government. This latter movement is in a course of training already, but are the friends of domestick industry fully aware that it is the lever in the Van Buren policy upon which the chief dependence is placed? You, Sir, must see it—I have evidence of it—combinations are forming to render it effective. The principle upon which it is to be worked, is discoverable in the new system of political *mechanicks* introduced within the last few years in the national councils. The question presented is, shall the friends of the country resist? And, if so, how? Or, shall they submit themselves patiently to the yoke, and, by acquiescence earn a portion of the spoils?

To meet this crisis, concert is necessary, a rallying point must

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<sup>74</sup>Andrew Jackson.



be devised, and that too immediately, or our strength is dissipated. In short, Sir, the National party must have a candidate at least in prospective, they must come out and declare themselves, and, having once taken a definitive position, they must intrench and fortify themselves against the evil appeals that will be made to men's patriotick feelings *thro' their interests*. I presume I am understood—the past is a safe criterion for the future.

I will be plain with you in this communication. I feel the force of what I say, and no one regrets the necessity more than I do, that compels me to say, you are not the man on whom the friends of the country can rely for the canvass of 1836. This is the secret conviction of the whole Nat. Repub. party, with perhaps a few exceptions. Your confidential friends and advisers in the last canvass,<sup>75</sup> have to answer to the country for this—they compelled you to place yourself before the car of the political Molock of the day, and you have been overwhelmed. I will not charge them with selfishness in this; but, certain it is, they erred in judgment, and to their indiscreet zeal is chargeable in a great degree the manifold evils that now threaten the country.

Previous to the sitting of the Baltimore Convention in December, 1831, I wrote to a friend of yours, a member of that Convention, a letter of which the following is an abstract:—<sup>76</sup> (*See Letter to J. G. Camp, filed, Dec. 13, 1831.*)

I make this extract to convey to you more fully my views, and to show on what grounds I have made them up. If there is error in them, they should be corrected immediately, for they are fast being adopted as the foundation of future operations. The letter containing the above, was submitted to a confidential friend of yours. It expressed opinions offensive to the sanguine hopes of your particular friends, and the advice was, therefore, to suppress it.

I have said that Mr. Van Buren was not unsuccessful in his appeals to members of the Nat. Repub. party. I will mention a single instance of defection, without, however, charging upon Mr. Van Buren the sin or folly of conversion, to wit: W. B. Rochester, Esq.<sup>77</sup> You know this man, he is under many obligations to you—he owes all his political advantages to your partiality. If you know him thoroughly, you know he lacks

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<sup>75</sup>Refers to Clay's nomination, 1831.

<sup>76</sup>The abstract was omitted by writer from his original draft of his letter to Mr. Clay. See Letter marked "V" in this publication.

<sup>77</sup>See Note 70.



firmness; and to this weakness may be traced his present course; he is afraid of being lost, unless he can place himself in a position where the sun of governmental favour can strike broad upon his front. Here then is motive sufficient for throwing himself within the magician's circle, to do which he has been trimming these three months. I could mention others but this one will answer my present purpose. The case of Mr. R. is an extreme one—a different one might produce a same effect, and some of your best and firmest friends may be compelled to change position. But I will not follow out the subject.

I again revert to the necessity of breaking ground at an early day. It is possible that the non-committal policy of Mr. Van B. will fail him at this trying time. An expression of opinions in language that would satisfy the Union anti-tariff party at the south, might alarm northern cupidity, and thus counteract the evil anticipated. With what chance of success would a third candidate take the field in such a conjuncture? I fear with but little.

Mr. Van Buren has a large capital to *trade* on, derived from the unaccountable popularity of the Old Hero. With such means he stands a great chance of success, unless the power which the popularity of the present course of the executive is calculated to confer, can be transferred to other hands. The means of doing this are best known to yourself. Unless this can be done, I fear the worst. "Save himself who can" will soon be the cry—the protection of the interests of the country will rest in foul hands, with no hope of salvation but in forcing the leaders in the new school from their non-committal position, and compelling them to be friends. *Can this be done?*

I have written the preceding in unreserved confidence, and I commit it to you (although quite unknown to you, a stranger,) in the same spirit in which it was written. If you do not recollect my name, M. L. Davis, H. Ketcham, J. Hoxie, and others of New York, will be able to give you such information as will be satisfactory as to the motive which has dictated this communication. Whether it needs an answer or not, yourself will be the best judge.

[Note: This communication bears endorsement in the handwriting of Oran Follett as follows:—"Original Draught to H. Clay, Jan. 10, 1833."]



Quarterly Publication of the His-  
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Vol. V, 1910, No. 3  
JULY-SEPTEMBER

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Public" of November 26, 1787.

Letter of John Cleves Symmes to Elias  
Boudinot of January 12 and 15, 1792.

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- I. EXPLANATORY NOTE.
- II. THE TRENTON CIRCULAR "TO THE RESPECTABLE PUBLIC" OF NOVEMBER, 1787.
- III. JOHN CLEVES SYMMES TO ELIAS BOUDINOT, LETTER OF JANUARY 12 AND 15, 1792.



## I.

Although the two selections that make up this number have been heretofore published, they are not readily accessible; for this reason it is thought that their importance and interest justifies their publication in this form.

The circular, "To the Respectable Public," is referred to in Thomson's Bibliography of Ohio as "the first publication relating to the Miami Purchase. The only copy of the tract we can trace is in the Ohio Historical Society Library, Cincinnati." Since this statement was published several other copies have been located, but this reprint is from the one referred to.

The autograph letter from Symmes to Boudinot of date January 12, 1792, is also in the collection of the Society, having been presented by the late Robert Clarke on January 19, 1893.

John Cleves Symmes was born July 21, 1742, at River Head on Long Island, the oldest son of Reverend Timothy and Mary (Cleves) Symmes. In early life a teacher and surveyor, he removed to New Jersey some time before the war of the Revolution. In 1774 he became Chairman of the Committee of Safety for Sussex County, and in the following year was commissioned colonel of a Sussex regiment of militia, the third battalion. He served through a large part of the war, taking an important part in the organization of the defensive forces and fortresses of Long Island and New Jersey, and participating with great credit in a number of important battles. He was a member of the New Jersey State Convention that drafted the constitution of the new State, being on the sub-committee of five having the matter in charge. He subsequently served the State as Lieutenant Governor for one year, and member of the Council for six years, and judge of the Supreme Court for twelve years, during part of which time, 1785-6, he was also a member of Congress from New Jersey.



He had married a daughter of Governor Livingston of New Jersey, and was connected both politically and socially with the most prominent people of this time.

Interested by Major Benjamin Stites, himself a native of New Jersey, in the country between the Miamis, even before the passage of the immortal Ordinance of July 13, 1787, he, with five companions, took a trip to the Miami country and to the falls of the Ohio in the spring and early summer of that year. Upon his return he promptly organized a company of twenty-four men, among whom were Jonathan Dayton, Elias Boudinot, Dr. Wetherspoon and Major Stites, and in his own name memorialized Congress on August 29, 1787, on the subject of a grant between the Miamis. The history of his struggles with Congress and his own associates has been too frequently written to make it desirable to pursue it here. He was sufficiently satisfied with the progress of his negotiations to issue at Trenton, New Jersey, on November 26, 1787, the celebrated circular in pamphlet form, addressed "To the Respectable Public," reprinted as the first selection in this number, the first public statement of the contemplated movement which resulted in the settlements that now constitute one of the most populous, wealthy, and important communities of the land.

It is worthy of note that the first land warrant issued was to Major Benjamin Stites, covering the fee of 640 acres "at the point betwixt the mouth of the little miamie and the ohio in the pint," dated Dec. 17, 1787. Symmes was subsequently in February, 1788, selected as one of the judges of the Northwest territory; his associates were Samuel Holden Parsons and James Mitchell Varnum. He started westward in July of that year reaching Fort Harmar with his family Aug. 24, 1788, to leave three days later for Limestone, now Maysville, Kentucky. From this point, Symmes started a few weeks later with Israel Ludlow, the chief surveyor of the Jersey Company, Matthias Denman and Major Stites to meet the Kentucky party, headed by Colonel Robert Patterson and John Filson, on the new land between the Miamis. The landing was made in the neighborhood of the spot now known as the Public Landing in Cincinnati on September 22, 1788, on which day the first surveys of the territory now included in that city were made.

The actual settlements between the Miamis were made at a





little later time; that by the Stites party at Columbia, on November 18, 1788; by the Patterson-Ludlow party at Losantiville, now Cincinnati, December 28, 1788 and the Symmes party at North Bend on February 2, 1789.

The defenseless condition of the settlements exposed to the continued aggressions of the Indians led to the building of Fort Washington at Cincinnati in the autumn of 1788. General Harmar arrived at this the headquarters of the United States Army December 28, 1789.

The expedition against the Indians under the leadership of General Harmar left Fort Washington in September, 1790. Although Governor St. Clair characterizes this campaign as an "entire success," it was and is usually regarded as a serious defeat, and one which had a most discouraging influence upon the settlement of the Miami Country.

The important campaign of General St. Clair was in the autumn of 1791, terminating on November 4th of that year in the terrible slaughter at "St. Mary's, upon the river plain," one of the most serious disasters that ever befell American arms.

It is with reference to this campaign that Symmes' letter to Elias Boudinot, which forms the second selection in this number, was written. It must be borne in mind that at this time Symmes was in the midst of this controversy with Governor St. Clair upon the subject of the contracts for the lands between the Miamis. In letters of August 15, 1791, and January, 1792, to Dayton and January 25, 1792 to Boudinot and Dayton he gives many instances of the friction existing between himself and the governor and between the citizens and the soldiers.

Wayne's campaign of 1794 terminating with the great victory of Fallen Timbers on August 15th, resulted in the summer of 1795 in the treaty of Greenville which terminated for all time the danger of the savage to the settlements between the Miamis.

John Cleves Symmes died at Cincinnati February 26, 1814 and was buried at North Bend.

Charles Theodore Greve.



## II.

### TO THE RESPECTABLE PUBLIC.

Whereas the honourable the Congress, by their act of the 3d of October, 1787, authorized the honourable the commissioners of the treasury board, to enter into a contract with the subscriber, for the tract of land hereafter described, and upon the following conditions: the boundaries of the land are—viz. Beginning at the mouth of the Great Miami river, thence running up the Ohio to the mouth of the Little Miami river, thence up the Little Miami to the place where a due west line, to be continued from the western termination of the northern boundary line of the grant to Messrs. Sarjeant, Cutler, and company, shall intersect the said Little Miami river, thence due west, continuing the said western line to the place where the said line shall intersect the main branch or stream of the Great Miami river, thence down the Great Miami to the place of beginning.

The conditions are, that the tract shall be surveyed, and its contents ascertained by the Geographer or some other officer of the United States, who shall plainly mark the said east and west line, and shall render one complete plat thereof to the board of treasury, and another to the purchaser or purchasers. The purchaser or purchasers, within seven years from the completion of this work (unless the frequency of Indian irruptions may render the same in a measure impracticable) shall lay off the whole tract at their own expense into townships and fractional parts of townships, and divide the same into lots, according to the land ordinance of the 20th of May, 1785; complete returns whereof shall be made to the treasury board. The lot number 16 in each township, or fractional part of a township, to be given perpetually for the purposes contained in the said ordinance. The lot number 29 in each township, to be given perpetually for the purposes of religion. The lots number 8, 11 and 26, in each township, or



fractional part of a township, to be reserved for the future disposition of Congress. One complete township to be given perpetually for the purposes of an academy or college, to be laid off by the purchaser or purchasers, as nearly opposite to the mouth of Licking river as an entire township may be found eligible in point of soil and situation, to be applied to the intended object by the legislature of the state.

The price to be one dollar per acre for the contents of the said tract excepting the reservations and gifts aforesaid, payable in specie, loan office certificates reduced to specie value, or certificates of liquidated debts of the United States, subject to a reduction by an allowance for bad lands, and all incidental charges and circumstances whatsoever, one third of a dollar per acre; and in making payment, the principal only of the said certificates shall be admitted. And the board of treasury, for such interest as may be due on the certificates rendered in payment as aforesaid, prior to the first of January, 1785, shall issue indents for interest to the possessors, which shall be receivable in payment as other indents for interest of the existing requisitions of Congress: and for such interest as may be due on the said certificates, between that period and the period of payment the said board shall issue indents, the payment of which to be provided for in future requisitions, or otherwise.

Such of the purchasers as may possess rights for bounties of land to the late continental army, to be permitted to render the same in discharge of the contract, acre for acre, provided that the aggregate of such rights shall not exceed one seventh part of the land to be paid for; and provided also that there shall be no future claim against the United States on account of the said rights.

Two hundred thousand dollars of the purchase money to be paid down upon closing the contract, and two hundred thousand dollars more within one month after the delivery of the return or survey of the tract, to be made by the Geographer or other officer as aforesaid. The residue of the money to be paid by the purchaser, or purchasers in six equal half yearly payments, to be computed from the time when the second payment becomes due, together with the interest thereon from the date of the second payment.

When the second payment is made, the purchaser shall receive



a deed for six hundred thousand acres, exclusive of the reserved and given lands, the survey whereof to begin at the mouth of the Great Miami at one end, and at the intersection of the northern boundary line with the Great Miami, at the other end, and extending eastwardly from the Great Miami on a meridian line to be drawn from north to south lengthways of the tract, until six hundred thousand acres exclusive of the given and reserved lots are included between the Great Miami and such north and south line. Further proportional grants shall be made to the purchasers, from time to time as the subsequent payments are discharged always drawing a line from north to south, parallel with the first line from end to end of the tract, until the whole of the land purchased be granted by deed to the purchasers, their heirs and assigns forever.

The purchaser or purchasers, on payment of the first two hundred thousand dollars, shall have a right to enter, and occupy a proportion of the land, not exceeding three hundred thousand acres, exclusive of the given and reserved township and lots, which privilege shall be enlarged, from time to time, as future payments may be made by the purchaser. Thus far the agreement.

The publick, by the foregoing, being made acquainted with the nature of the contract entered into between the honourable the commissioners of the treasury board and the subscriber, for himself and associates; the subscriber begs leave to communicate, to such gentlemen as are desirous of becoming his associates, the scheme adopted for sale and settlement, which shall be considered as fundamental thereto by every purchaser and settler.

The first necessary measure, is to raise two hundred thousand dollars in liquidated certificates, in order to discharge the first payment, which must be made previous to any entry, or settlement on the land.

For this purpose land-warrants will be issued by the subscriber, or other person appointed, for any number of acres, not less than one hundred and sixty, or a quarter part of a section, and always making the warrant for a township section, or quarter part of a section, authorizing the person purchasing the same his heirs or assigns to elect and choose, in his own person, or by his or their agent, such township, or lot, or quarter of a lot as may be most agreeable to the holder of the warrant, provided the same





township, or lot, or quarter of a lot, be not previously located, and entered on record by a prior applicant.

A map, as accurate as can be drawn before an actual survey is made, may be seen with the subscriber, on which any person may make their election of a township, lot, or quarter of a lot, which shall be attended to as far as possible after the tract is surveyed into townships and sections, and the elected townships, lots, or quarters of lots, shall be noted in the true map of the premises, as soon as the same can be made. When the survey thereof is accomplished, a plat or map of the land, paid for at the treasury board, will lie before the register at his office, to be kept on the ground, in which every township and fractional part of a township, will be fairly laid down and numbered; and every township, lot, or quarter of a lot, when applied for at the register's office, and no where else after actual survey, shall be immediately recorded as sold to the person or persons to whom the warrant belongs, which shall be produced to cover the same. And the township, lot, or quarter of a lot, so elected, shall be marked on the map to prevent any mistake in a subsequent location. Provided always, that no section be divided when the warrant contains a sufficient number of acres to cover the whole section.

Two-thirds of a dollar per acre, in liquidated certificates, exclusive of the interest due on such certificates, to be paid by the purchaser on the receipt of a land warrant; and for the interest due on all certificates indents are to issue at the treasury board, which shall be returned by the subscriber to the right owners of such certificates; regular accounts thereof shall be kept. But the subscriber recommends, as the better way, that each holder of certificates should apply to the loan officer of the state in which he lives, and first draw up his interest fully in indents, or facilities, before he presents them in payment for the land warrant.— Yet if this be inconvenient, the subscriber will see that justice is done touching the interest.

After the first day of next May, the price of the land will be one dollar per acre, and after the first day of November next, the price will rise still higher, if the country is settled as fast as is expected. The certificates raised by this augmentation in the price, shall be applied towards the making of roads and bridges in the purchase.



One-penny proclamation or the ninetieth of a dollar per acre in specie, or bills of credit of the states of New York, New Jersey, or Pennsylvania, must be paid by the purchaser at the time of purchasing the land warrant. This fee of one-penny per acre, is to defray the expense of surveying the country, into townships and lots, agreeably to the land ordinance. And one farthing proclamation, or the three hundred and sixtieth part of a dollar per acre, in specie or paper money aforesaid, to be paid by the purchaser, to defray the expense of printing the land-warrants, purchasing proper books for records, accommodating and paying the register for his services in attending to the recording of entries, and other incidental charges which will necessarily accrue.

When a land warrant shall be for one quarter of a lot, or one hundred and sixty acres, the same shall always be taken and located at one corner of a section, in a square with equal lines, and in no case shall the square of half a mile each way be departed from, except in those fractional parts of sections which may be rendered incomplete by the outside lines, or boundaries of the purchase, and the entry shall be made on the record accordingly, setting forth which corner, or quarter part of the section is elected, and that quarter of the section shall be immediately stained on the map to denote its being located.

The subscriber is very sensible that an inconvenience will arise from the circumstance of adhering strictly to certain numbers of acres in a land warrant, as few men can make the amount of their certificates tally exactly with certain given numbers of acres contained in a township, lot, or a quarter of a lot; and yet the measure is absolutely necessary, for if persons were to purchase any number of acres which is most convenient to them, and locate the same at their pleasure, it must follow, that there would be left unlocated, a number of small pieces and strips of land, throughout the whole purchase, which would infallibly mar the design. In order therefore to remedy this inconvenience as far as may be, and provide a kind of change, a certificate of the surplus amount shall be given to the purchaser, certifying so much land paid for, over the contents of the warrant delivered, which certificate or due bill, shall be transferable, and shall be received in payment, or credited when presented in the purchase of any subsequent warrant. A number of persons, however, may throw all their certifi-



cates together, and take whole township, which they can divide among themselves according as each contributes.

After location and entry is made on the records, the register shall so soon as the hurry of entry is over, proceed to make out a patent under his hand and a special seal for this purpose provided, to the purchaser, for the township, lot, or quarter of a lot so located and entered, which shall be evidence of a transfer of the fee of such township, lot, or quarter of a lot, to the patentee, his heirs or assigns forever, for which service the register shall receive one third of a dollar in specie for each deed, including but one lot or quarter part of a lot, and the sixteenth of a dollar more for every additional lot and lots or quarter part of a lot over the first six hundred and forty acres, which shall be included in the patent or deed.

Whereas engrossing large tracts of land, whereon no families are settled for a long space of time, has been found very prejudicial to the population of all new countries—in order to avoid this inconvenience, which has been greatly detrimental to the settlement of Kentucke, it is hereby provided, that every locator shall have two years from the time of entering his location, to fix, or place himself, or some other person or persons, on the ground, or in the country at some station of defence, and begin an improvement on every section, or quarter of a section, which he may have located, if this may be done with safety: but if the locator shall neglect for two years after location entered, to make a settlement on every section which he may have located, or to settle some other prson or persons thereon, or in some station, who shall continue to improve the same, or live in such station for seven years, unless succeeded by others, who shall supply their place, provided they are not disturbed by the Indians for that period, in such case, one sixth part of every such neglected section, or, quarter part of a section, to be taken off in a square at the northeast corner, shall be deemed forfeited, and shall revert to the register for the time being, in trust, so far as to authorize him to grant the same gratis, to any volunteer settler who shall first make application to the register therefor, previous to any settlement being made thereon by the proprietor or locator, or some person for him, upon condition however, that such volunteer settler proceed immediately to make an improvement, and shall continue the settlement thereon, or live in some station in the country for de-



fence, as is required of the proprietor or first locator. But in all such forfeitures, the forfeited sixth part shall be invariably taken at the northeast corner of the lot when entire, or quarter of a lot, so neglected to be settled, and shall be surveyed off in a regular square, all the lines being equal, the expense whereof shall be paid by the volunteer settler, who shall have the same recorded to him, the register stating the ground on which such volunteer settler derives his right, and after seven years occupancy on the lot, or residence in some station of defence, making reasonable abatement of time within that period, if the Indians should prove troublesome, the register shall proceed to make out a deed for such forfeited sixth part, always to be taken at the northeast corner, to such volunteer settler, whereby the fee of the land so forfeited shall pass to him, his heirs or assigns forever, for which the register shall receive the same fees as for other deeds.

Little need be said to evince the propriety and justice of this measure, as it is reasonable that all who become purchasers should in some way contribute to the defence of the country, by their own personal service, or by some other person for them.

The difficulty of opening and making roads in the country is another heavy duty to which purchasers who do not go there ought to contribute, thereby rendering the residue of their land more valuable. The settlement of one family on the forfeited sixth part, will really make the remaining five-sixths of the section or quarter of a section, worth more than the whole would be in a wilderness. Perhaps some may think that two years is too short a time for making the settlement required; but if gentlemen will reflect on the danger from the Indians attending the first settlers, the great difficulties which those meet who first occupy a desert, the extent of the federal territory, open in every quarter to emigrants, and that the value of land depends almost entirely on the number of its inhabitants, the subscriber believes that two years will be thought time sufficient for the purpose. The subscriber having been in the western country, is so fully persuaded of the great benefit that will result from this regulation, that he most cheerfully submits to it himself, and perhaps few will be more affected thereby.

Officers and soldiers of the late American army, who wish to have their bounty lands in this grant, will be pleased to send their





names, regiment, rank, and of what line, to General Dayton, at Elizabeth-Town, or to one of the gentlemen hereafter appointed to receive the applications of purchasers.

Ministers of the gospel of every denomination of Christians are cordially invited into the country, to enjoy the use of the lot No. 29, in each township, in such distribution as shall be agreeable to the parishoners.

Schoolmasters who will settle on these lands, and are capable of discharging with propriety the duties of such instructors, shall enjoy the free use and benefit of the given lot No. 16, in some one of the townships, so long as they shall severally pursue the business of educating the children of the parish, on such terms as shall be agreed between the master and his employers.

All certificates and monies paid shall be returned free of cost to the purchaser of the warrant, in case of failure in raising the sum sufficient for the first payment to the treasury board; but on return of the certificates the land warrants must also be returned to the subscriber, or to those gentlemen from whom they may hereafter be purchased.

The subscriber hopes that the respectable publick will not think it unreasonable in him, when he informs them, that the only privilege which he reserves for himself, as a small reward for his trouble in this business, is the exclusive right of electing, or locating that entire township which will be lowest down in the point of land formed by the Ohio and Great Miami rivers, and those three fractional parts of townships which may lie northwest and south, between such entire township, and the waters of the Ohio and Great Miami. This point of land the subscriber intends paying for himself, and thereon to lay out a handsome town plat, with eligible streets, and lots of sixty feet wide in front and rear, and one hundred and twenty feet deep, every lot of which shall be given freely to any person who shall first apply for the same, lot No. 1 being retained, and lot No. 2 given away, and thus alternately throughout the town—upon conditional ways, that the person so applying for, and accepting of, a given lot or lots, shall, without evasion, build a house or cabbin, on each lot so given, within two years after the date of the first payment made to the treasury board, and occupy the same by keeping some family therein, for the first three years after building. Every person, who will accept of a town lot as aforesaid, shall have the privilege



of cutting, on the subscriber's adjacent land, as much timber for building as such donee shall need, during the term of three years from the time when he first begins to build on his lot.

The subscriber begs leave to add, for the information of those who are unacquainted with the country, that from his own view of this land bordering on the river Ohio, and the unanimous report of all those who have travelled over the tract in almost every direction, it is supposed to be equal to any part of the federal territory, in point of quality of soil, and excellence of climate, it lying in the latitude of about thirty-eight degrees north, where the winters are moderate, and no extreme heats in summer. Its situation is such as to command the navigation of several fine rivers, as may be seen by the maps of that country; boats are frequently passing by this land, as they ply up and down the Ohio. There are no mountains in the tract, and, excepting a few hills, the country is generally level, and free from stone on the surface of the earth, but there are plenty of stone-quarries for building. It is said to be well watered with springs and rivulets, and several fine mill streams falling from the dividing ridge, into the two Miamis, which lie about thirty miles apart, and are both supposed to be navigable higher up in the country than the northern extent of this purchase, so that the interior farms will have navigation in the boating seasons, within fifteen or eighteen miles at farthest. Salt in any quantity may be had by water within a moderate distance, at the salt-works on the banks of the Licking river, which empties itself from the Kentucke side into the Ohio, between the two Miami rivers. Provisions for the first emigrants may be had very cheap and good, by water, from the Pittsburgh, Redstone and wheeling settlements, or from the district of Kentucke, which lies opposite to this purchase, on the south-east side of the Ohio. The distance from Fort Pitt is about five hundred miles down a gentle river, navigable for boats of one hundred tons to the Mississippi, and down the Mississippi to the sea. In the district of Kentucke, which is separated from this purchase by the river Ohio, about half a mile wide, the average price of land is half a dollar per acre in specie, tho' a large proportion could not be bought under three hard dollars per acre; eight and ten shillings per acre are frequently given. For the quantity, a larger proportion of the lands on the Miami are supposed to be of the first quality, and



the whole equally good, compared generally with those of Kentucky. The titles to the Miami lands will be clear and certain, and no possible doubt can arise. Whereas, on the kentucky side (military rights excepted) the titles of land are not easily ascertained, frequently very doubtful, and too often not well founded.

It is expected that a considerable settlement will be begun on the land early next spring, if the first payment to the treasury board can be made by that time.

The honourable the secretary at war, General Knox, having assured the subscriber of his friendly disposition to support the settlers against the Indians, by replacing a garrison of federal troupes in the fort which is still remaining on the land, at the mouth of the Great Miami, must greatly facilitate the settlement, and in some measure render safety to the first adventurers.

A system of good government for that country is already formed by the honourable the Congress, and the principal officers of the government are appointed. His excellency governor St. Clair, and the honourable the judges of the supreme court, go out early next spring, and they will carry with them wholesome laws, and the wisest regulations for promoting emigrants to that country, protecting and rendering happy all those who become peaceable settlers therein.

The subscriber intends going out himself, and shall make it his study to encourage and superintend the settlement of this purchase, by causing the utmost attention to be paid to every application, and aiding, as far as may be in his power, all those who become either purchasers or settlers.

Signed at Trenton, the 26th day of November, A. D. 1787.

JOHN CLEVES SYMMES.

#### POSTSCRIP.

A township is six miles square, and contains thirty-six sections, thirty-one of which must be paid for at two-thirds of a dollar per acre, which comes to thirteen thousand two hundred and twenty-six dollars and sixty ninetieths of a dollar in certificates. The penny farthing per acre for surveying and fees of offices, comes to two hundred and seventy-five dollars and fifty-



ninetieths of a dollar in specie, paper money New York, New Jersey, or Pennsylvania.

A section or lot, is one mile square, and contains six hundred and forty acres, which comes to four hundred and twenty-six dollars and sixty ninetieths of a dollar in certificates. The penny farthing per acre comes to eight dollars and eighty ninetieths of a dollar in specie, or paper money as aforesaid.

A quarter of a section is one quarter of a mile square, and contains one hundred and sixty acres which comes to one hundred and six dollars and sixty ninetieths of a dollar in certificates, and two dollars and twenty ninetieths of a dollar in specie, or paper money of the three states aforesaid.

It is necessary here to observe that while the paper currencies of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, continue of the same value they are at present, those emissions will be received, as with it surveyors may be procured, and waggons and boats for transportation of the supplies of the surveyors may be hired. But should the value of those paper emissions sink still lower, it cannot be received on any account whatever.

Such persons as think proper to become associates, will be pleased to apply to any one of the following gentlemen, each of whom will be furnished with land warrants for the purpose of supplying purchasers therewith, viz. Edward Fox Esq in Philadelphia, Michael D. Henry, Esq in New York, Joseph Bloomfield, Esq. in Burlington, Samuel W. Stockton, Esq. Trenton, Richard Stockton, Esq. in Princeton, Andrew Kirkpatrick, Esq New Brunswick, Mr. Elias Dayton, jun. at Elizabeth-Town.





### III.

#### JOHN CLEVES SYMMES TO ELIAS BOUDINOT.

My dear Sir

NORTHBEND JANUARY THE 12th 1792

Before this time you must have been made acquainted with the dreadful misfortunes attending the last summers operations. I expect that reasons have been assigned to government for the total overthrow of our army. It is natural for doctors to assign causes for the death of their patients, but the causes assigned are not always the real ones.

In the letter which I had the honor of addressing to you or Capt Dayton by Judge Turner, I gave you some hints of what I plainly foresaw the military arrangements then on foot would end in. I will acknowledge I had no Idea that our army would have been destroyed in the course of three hours, for it was impossible for any one to suppose that the army was at any time to be crowded together on a few acres of ground and liable to be surrounded by half their number of Indians, whose every shot could not fail of killing or wounding three or four of our men; while our platoons in returning their fire, three times in four, saw not an Indian, they being hid behind trees, but still our men fired on mechanically at they knew not what.

From the first week in June onward till I went to Gallipolis in October, I discovered evident symptoms of very great disappointments and miscarriage in the course of the campaign. I knew with certainty that there must be a great failure in the supplies for the army as they advanced to the Northward, if the early part of the season was lost, when the flour then at fort Washington might have been transported up the Miami to new Chilocothe (Tawixtwi) with very little risk or difficulty, the river then being high. There were three or four companies then at Headquarters which might have been employed to much better purpose in building a fort and cabbins at New Chilocothe than



to be kept shut up in the town of Cincinnati for several months where they were debauching themselves and the Citizens by their mischievous intercourse with each other. here all the flour ought to have been stored early in the season, which was necessary for the consumption of the troops in their further progress. From New Chillicothe the detachments of horse should have been frequently sent sometimes towards Sandusky and sometimes towards the Maume village, these should have blazed the trees on every [ ] of their routs as tho they were marking the way for a much larger army to follow in a short time, this would have kept the Indians in continual alarms, from Sandusky bay to eel river that they would never have known at what point to have collected their force, as the inhabitants of each village would not have forsaken the defence of their own horde, and the grand movement might have been made in September after all the troops had arrived without any considerable opposition.

New Chillicothe or some better ground near it is more proper on every account, than the place where fort Jefferson is built, to be made our barrier to the Indians until we can possess ourselves of their country, and fort Jefferson ought to be evacuated and the garrison placed here. here are extensive natural meadows extremely fine either for hay or pasture so necessary for our horse on which we ought principally to depend for our offensive operations in future.

Besides, if this place was occupied by a garrison, the country round which being extremely inviting would immediately be cultivated by settlers, as it is within the purchase and the rage of the people of Kentucky has always been to possess themselves of this part of the grant on account of the fine prairias, waters, timber and so level a country. could this be effected any quantity of corn and hay might be made in the course of one year where so much good soil is already cleared to their hands.

Whenever the miami is boatable provisions and military stores may be thrown up to new Chillicothe with great expedition in bateaux or flat-bottomed boats, properly constructed; the large keel-boats of the Ohio are very improper, they draw too much water.

The delays attending the movements of our army were ruinous to the last degree. From June to September the army seemed motionless. It is true all the troops expected had not arrived,



but the greatest sufficiency had arrived in this period to have built a chain of small forts along the east bank of the Miami from Colerain to New Chilocothe. This work might have been done while the troops which had already arrived were idle, and would have wholly saved the months of September and October, which were lost in building fort Hamilton and fort Jefferson. Another advantage would have accrued: By lining the east bank of the great miami with a chain of small forts in the former part of the season, and making a long stay at New Chilocothe from June to September, the Indians would have been deceived in our main object. They would have considered our plan of operations rather as defensive than offensive, they would have construed all our precautions into nothing more than a view of securing the purchase and protecting the settlements that were made therein against their future attacks since they had attempted the reduction of Colerain the preceeding winter. But the moment that the troops crossed the Miami at fort Hamilton, every old squaw must have known that the views of the main army were offensive and against what towns their designs were: formidable measures were therefore taken against them accordingly.

After our designs were thus incontestably announced by crossing the Miami, tedious and slow were our movements occasioned by the difficulty of bringing up provisions, and the building of fort Jefferson in their rout, which after all was left unfinished, and yet with all this loss of time the army was not so far advanced as new Chilocothe, where they might have been by the first of September and all the forts built, had proper measures been adopted in June for the subsequent operations.

The mountain always seemed to be in labour, great things was to be done—but how they were to be accomplished was altogether incomprehensible from appearances. The army seemed unwieldy --was not well furnished with horses and teams, since arrangements were made to take all the stores and supplies every inch of the way by land, and nothing of the business anticipated by previous measures.

Too great a proportion of the privates appeared to be totally debilitated and rendered incapable of this service, either from their youth (mere boys) or by their excessive intemperance and abandoned habits. These men who are to be purchased from the prisons wheelbarrows and brothels of the nation at two dollars



per month, will never answer our purpose for fighting of Indians. Such men may do very well in armies or garrisons where their duty is merely mechanical, but it requires another sort of men to contend against Indians with success. It is to be considered that every Indian is in fact a general in his way, and must be opposed by a combatant equally skilled in all their cunning and artifice. Sure I am that one hundred Marlboroughs could not fight fifty Indians in the woods with success. What then had we to expect from the dint of so unequal a conflict, when three fourths of our troops were altogether unworthy such service; unless their great inferiority could be more than compensated by the superior and brilliant talents of their general, as well with regard to his alertness and activity in his motions, as with respect to his wise and judicious plan of decisive operations in which his abilities were more than a match for Indian subtilty.

The misfortunes of the late direful day may also be attributed in a great measure to the radical error committed in June with regard to the omission of throwing flour up the great Miami as high as new Chilocothe. This being neglected it was not possible to furnish the necessary supplies by land on the rout the army took: the consequence was, the troops were delayed in their march—reduced in their rations to one half, and even to one quarter of their flour. This brought on murmurings, and discontent—rendered them weak and irresolute, and induced whole companies of militia to desert. The first regiment of regular troops was sent back forty or fifty miles (with what propriety I will not say) either to bring again to the camp the deserting militia, or to prevent their taking supplies of flour from a convoy of provisions then expected to be on their way for the army; both of which views must of course prove nugatory from the first moment they were formed as the Militia left camp early in the morning and the first regiment did not march after them until the afternoon of the same day and could never overtake them nor prevent their plundering the convoy. So that not only many of the Militia had absented themselves previous to the day of action, but the first regiment which was in fact the best part and flower of the army all things considered, was also absent.

The Indians no doubt took advantage of this defection in our numbers as they certainly were apprized of the return of so considerable a part of the army. This circumstance added to the un-





accountable disposition of our army so favorable to the views of the enemy, could not fail of inviting them to the attack in which they saw success certain.

It is also to be feared that the impiety of our troops may not be considered as the most remote cause of our misfortune. If it be true as our religion teaches that the great governor of the Universe is in fact the God of armies, and really inspects into the conduct of men, and is himself a being of immaculate holiness and one who is displeased with the abominations of Man, and I own myself so much of a fanatic as to believe that he is, how can we expect his smiles on our arms, when the most horrid blasphemies, drunkenness and lewdness marks the character of too many of our troops there are indeed very few exceptions. I wish these vices were only to be found among the private men, but there are too many officers whom one would suppose from their station, possessed some Ideas of decency in their language, good manners and morality, but who in fact are the prophanest wretches that I ever heard speak with a tongue. My blood sometimes chills within me to hear their blasphemous familiarity with the names and attributes of the three persons of the Godhead. Sure I am that their unbounded impieties are not known to government, or some attempts would certainly be made at a reform of the army in a moral sense, and it might be easily effected if the commanding officers did not too often set the example, but on the contrary do all in their power to check it. If it was once known in the army that the general neither swore nor drank intemperately, and would never fail to frown on those who did, and would even make it so personal as not to invite to his table any who indulged in those vices, those monsters in wickedness who now strut triumphant with brazen front and polluted breath, would soon become ashamed sink into contempt, and either forsake the practice or the army.

It pains me extremely Sir, to reflect on the consequences of our fatal repulse. What the success of the Indians may not tempt them to undertake against these settlements in the course of the winter and coming spring is very uncertain: I greatly fear the event however. But one thing is certain beyond all doubt, this is, that the Indians will find in themselves no disposition to treat at all with us of peace. A continuance of the war in their opinion will be a continuance of their emoluments. Great indeed



was their plunder on the last defeat. I am told by some officers that not less than twenty thousand dollars in specie and bank notes was supposed to be lost; what then must have been the whole amount of the value of their plunder? Their great acquisition of plunder however was attended with one happy effect to us: it saved the flying remains of the army—but for the plunder, hardly a soul would have escaped the slaughter to bring us the dreadful news. The enemy individually jealous that another would take more plunder than themselves very soon gave over the chase, which was indeed undertaken but by few.

I sometimes fear that the Indians are not more reluctant to peace, than the United States will be to a continuance of an active war with them. Such sums of money have been thrown away for two succeeding campaigns and nothing effected, but on every account we are worse off than when we began. I tremble lest Congress should determine that the defence of the western country costs the nation more than it is an worth to them, and leave us to our own defence in the best manner we can make it. Not that I despair but that the Indians may be effectually subdued in the course of one years operations: but if I may be allowed to give my opinion with regard to the most efficient measures to be taken against them, I would not advise a plan of operations for the present year on so large a scale as that of the last campaign. I would not bring a soldier into service from the Alleghany Mountains, except so many recruits as would keep full the two regiments already established. And these Regiments I could wish might be kept on garrison service only, and that of building several new forts which are yet absolutely necessary. The militia situate to the westward of the Alleghany Mountains are unquestionably the most proper persons in the nation to contend with Indians.

You never may expect to get Indians to fight you on your own terms. If your army is composed of infantry they will only fight when they have greatly the advantage and are almost certain of victory. Cavalry therefore alone can compel them to engage on terms which you will approve. Our plan of active operations must therefore be carried on with horse. Of the approach of these the enemy cannot have long notice, nor elude an action when our commanders shall think proper to bring one on.

With horse we shall always be able to move with greater



celerity than the enemy, both in advancing and retreating. Far smaller numbers will also answer our purposes if the war be predatory for one season and carried on with horse. The western country abounds with men and horses adequate to this business, could they be drawn forth into the service for short periods of time, and a liberal encouragement will always do it in sufficient numbers. I never wish to see more than six hundred woodsmen well mounted and accoutred marching at any one time against the enemy the ensuing summer, as every thing is not to be put in issue on one of these excursions. The rendezvous of these ought to be at New Chilcothe as that place is nearly equidistant to all the important Indian towns on the Wabash and Maumee rivers, for this purpose a fort should be built at this place early in the season. Pittsburgh is a proper place for rendezvous when the Sandusky villages are the object. These men should be armed with a rifle-gun, two horse pistols fixed to a girdle buckled round the waist of the men, and not fixed as usual to the saddle. they must have a tomehawk of one and half pound weight, with a helve of two feet in length. The cartridges for their pistols ought to be leaded with buck-shot of about one hundred to the pound—these are for close work either on horseback or when dismounted, their rifles are for long and certain shots—their hatchets are for charging in lieu of swords, but are much better for the use of woodsmen and raw Militia. David preferred a sling because he had always been used to a sling. hatchets are far more wieldy both in carriage and in action, and will cost about one eighth as much as swords would do, they are not liable to break, they are far more useful for many other purposes on such an excursion, as rafting rivers, encamping, procuring firewood, cutting down the enemies corn, &c. &c. These men will average at the pay of one dollar per day man and horse including rations and forrage which they must furnish themselves with, or pay for them at a moderate price. A due proportion between officers and privates must be observed in their pay but this must bear no proportion to the difference observed in the established Regiments. for I wish to draw forth the more respectable part of the community, such as value themselves upon having a country, property, connections and a reputation to fight for, and not such as enter service merely because they can live no longer unhung any other way.



The horses of which these squadrons are composed are to be valued at a reasonable price and paid for by the public if lost in action or by other unavoidable misfortunes. The pistols and hatchets with their trappings are to be furnished by the public and returned to the public magazines when the tour is over. the hatchets should be four inches broad on the edge, plated thin in all parts so as to be as large as  $1\frac{1}{2}$ lb of Iron & Steel will make them, yet not too thin so as to be in danger of breaking when used in wood. each man furnishes himself with a rifle gun. The public furnishes powder, lead and flints; care must be taken that the powder be of the first quality. You can hardly conceive, Sir, how much depends on this circumstance. These squadrons as they are to be composed altogether of citizens, must be commanded by citizens, but by such as government shall appoint, to take the militia officers as they rise will never do. The officer who commands these detachments must be one of whose abilities, experience, courage, temperance, and activity government has the strongest assurance—we pay too dear for hoping and wishing the reformation of mortals, but still confiding—and I never wish to see a man more than forty years of age at the head of these partizans, there is a vigour in young men which we may never expect to meet with in more advanced years; and every thing must depend on the alertness with which these excursions are made; the months of June, July, August, and September are the only months in the year for this service; horse cannot well live in the woods much earlier or later, but I had much rather add May than October; after the first frost falls the food in the woods is gone and horses must starve in a wilderness. But whether am I hurrying myself on a subject in which you will say I have no business. I acknowledge your rebuke is just. My duty is not militare. I ought to be silent and patiently wait the issue of the war, relying on the superior wisdom of those whose province it is to direct the storms of war. But feeling myself interested as I do in the success of our arms and putting an end to hostilities in this country, no man in the nation being more so. I hope Sir that you will pardon me the liberty I have taken of troubling you with what I shall not be displeased if you call the reveries of an ignorant man.





January the 15th, 92. I had all the fall Sir, intended to have been with you by Christmas or New years, but on my return from Gallipolis the latter end of November, where I had been to hold a court, I found the Miami settlements in the greatest disorder arising from their dismay on the late defeat. Many families had fled into Kentucky before I arrived. I had the address to dissuade many others from following them. we have lost from the purchase on this occasion about twenty families in all, tho but one family from Northbend is gone, many more were a tip-toe to be going, and it has been with difficulty that I have retained them. I hope their fears are pretty well over for the present and they are in some measure reconciled to stay; but should the Indians this winter or spring make a breach upon any one of the villages in the purchase, I fear that all the inhabitants of the other villages will fly for safety into Kentucky, and leave the purchase once more a desert. I can ill be spared to go abroad, all the encouragements that I can impart to the people are necessary to keep up their drooping spirits in such discouraging times as these are. I was however preparing myself for my journey to Philadelphia, when on the 21st of last month I was run upon by a mad steer and much gored by his horns, indeed it is a wonder that he had not killed me on the spot. I have not been able to forsake my bed longer than while it is made again for me, and now write leaning on my left side with a folio lying on the bed before me and my paper and ink on the book. I am however mending fast, my fever has left me, and my strength is returning with my appetite and my wound which is between my legs heals tollerably well. As I cannot ride on horseback for several weeks yet to come I send my nephew with my dispatches which I hope will arrive safe.

I have the honor to be with respect

Sir, your most obedient

very humble servant

John Cleves Symmes.

Hon<sup>ble</sup>

Doc<sup>t</sup> Boudinot.



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CHARLES T. GREVE.    MERRICK WHITCOMB.



# ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

## Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio

For the Year Ending  
December 5, 1910



CINCINNATI  
PRESS OF JENNINGS AND GRAHAM





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The meetings of the Society are held in its rooms in the Van Wormer Library Building, Burnet Woods, at three in the afternoon of the first Saturday of each month from October to May.

The Library is a free public Library, open to visitors daily, except Sunday, from nine A. M. to five P. M.



# ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

## Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio for 1910

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### REPORT OF LIBRARIAN

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The librarian herewith submits her annual report for the year ending December 31st, 1910.

From numerous friends the library has received 519 volumes, 1073 pamphlets, and 3 maps.

From the income of the Elizabeth Appleton fund there have been purchased 19 volumes and 1 map (this latter represents the Western Reserve of Ohio, including the Fireland section, 1826); from the Margaret Rives King fund 107 volumes; from the Society of Colonial Dames fund 5 volumes; and from the General fund 7 serials. These purchases combined with the above contributions of volumes, and 11 others secured by an exchange of duplicate monthly serials, amount to 667, which added to the titles reported last year, make the total number of volumes now in the library 24132. The pamphlets number about 68303.

The following enumeration of titles furnishes a partial list of the purchases during this year:—

Faust's German Element in the United States;  
Documentary History of American Industrial Society;  
Autobiography of Thurlow Weed;  
Life of Thurlow Weed;  
Schaff's Battle of the Wilderness;  
Bigelow's Campaign of Chancellorsville;  
Historical & Biographical Cyclopaedia of Ohio, 6 vols.;  
Scott's History of Fairfield County, Ohio;



Day's Story of The One Hundred and First Ohio Infantry;  
 Humes' Loyal Mountaineers of Tennessee;  
 Fox's Regimental Losses in the American Civil War;  
 Life of Commodore John Rodgers;  
 1 Set of the American Statesmen Series;  
 1 Set of the American Men of Letters;  
 1 Set of the Makers of America Series;  
 Nicolay-Hays' Life & Works of Abraham Lincoln, 12 vols.;  
 Merriam's Dawn of the World (California Indian Myths &  
 Weird Tales);  
 Slocum's Ohio Country;  
 Several Histories of Massachusetts:—Chelmsford; Framing-  
 ham; Hingham; and records of Braintree;  
 Histories of New Ipswich, and of Washington, New Hamp-  
 shire;  
 Breckinridge's History of Western Pennsylvania;  
 Wright's Perry County, Pa.;  
 Nevins' Men of Mark of the Cumberland Valley, Pa.;  
 Day's Historical Collections of Pennsylvania;  
 Gordon's Atlas of Clermont Co., Ohio;

Additional volumes to:—Works of James Buchanan; Mc-  
 Master's History of the People of the United States; The Original  
 Narrative Series; Avery's History of the United States; The  
 South in the Building of the Nation, etc.

A few Family Histories have been added to the genealogical  
 section, namely; Ashley, Andrews, Bradbury, Lindsay, and the  
 Moffat Family (a gift from the compiler, Mr. R. B. Moffat),  
 also, the Genealogical Registry of Inhabitants of Litchfield, Conn.

From the heirs of Mr. William Sampson, deceased, formerly  
 of Mt. Healthy, a gift has been received, consisting of 144 vol-  
 umes of history, biography, bound magazines, etc., and 2 maps—  
 one of Ohio, 1834, the other of the World, 1840, besides a num-  
 ber of pamphlets; and from Mr. Hulbert Taft of this city, a gift  
 of 150 volumes of similar character, has been donated to the  
 Society. While there are a number of duplicates in both col-  
 lections, the privilege of disposing of these has been extended by  
 the donors.

The City of Providence has donated 2 volumes which com-  
 plete our set of the "Records of the Town of Providence;" the  
 State Historian of New York has sent the third and final volume



of the "Minutes of the Commissioners for defeating Conspiracies in the State of New York, 1778-1781;" the State Librarian of Pennsylvania has forwarded to the Society the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Series of the Pennsylvania Archives; and, other welcome volumes have been received from various donors, among which are "Philadelphia Founder's Week Memorial Volume containing an account of the Two Hundred and Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the founding of the city;" "The Year Book of the Sons of the Revolution of New York, 1909," from that patriotic Society; "The Narrative of a Voyage to the Northwest Coast of America, 1811-1814" by Gabriel Franchere, given by Dr. S. C. Ayres; and numerous others.

Our sets of the North American Review and the Century Magazine have been completed to date, by 22 volumes in half morocco bindings, the gift of our former president, Mr. Eugene F. Bliss.

The Cabinet has had the following additions donated through the year:—

*Allan R. Roff*: Photograph of the old firm of Robert Clarke Co.

*Pennsylvania Historical Society*: Engraving of William Penn.

*Mrs. R. M. Hollingshead*: 3 Colored prints—1. Interior of Volunteer Refreshment Saloon gratuitously supported by the citizens of Philadelphia, 1861, and the others (2 & 3) show the exterior and interior of Cooper Shop Volunteer Refreshment Saloon in Philadelphia, the first opened for the Union soldiers in the United States.

*C. A. Hinsch*: 5 Posters of the Ohio Valley Exposition, 1910.

*John McLane*: Broadside of Shaker material.

*Joseph Wilby*: Photograph of the Unitarian Church on Plum & 8th Streets. One Dollar bill of the Cincinnati Whitewater Canal Co. Diploma conferred upon Miss C. A. Dimmick, 1858, by the Physio-Medical College of Ohio. Chart of the Coal Field in Clay and Owen Counties, Ind.

*John F. Winslow*: Print of the Dedication of the Second Presbyterian Church.

*Mrs. A. H. Chatfield*: Badge of W. C. E. A., and Key of the Old Wentworth House, New Castle, N. H.

Several curious and interesting newspapers have been donated, among them is a copy of the "New World," Jan. 1, 1841.





which contains a story in five acts, "Blue Beard," by Lewis Tieck, and translated by John Lothrop Motley, and while the interest centers in the story, the paper is remarkable for its size, being five feet long, and about four feet wide. Given by Mr. J. F. Winslow.

As the routine work in the library is very similar from year to year slight opportunity is afforded for any variation in reports made annually. This year the usual purchasing of books has been made, the publishing of the Quarterly continued, and the cataloging of additional volumes, with the other duties pertaining to a library, have received the customary attention.

The reading room of the Society has been the depository for our manuscript collection and various Indian curios, since installing our library in the Van Wormer Hall. During last winter we discovered destructive worms, formed from the larvæ of the species of beetle which attacks Indian skins, were attacking the manuscripts, and it became apparent that the Mss. must be removed from their quarters both on account of the proximity of the Indian curios and the heat of the room, which latter was largely the cause of their existence. Five galvanized iron cases were purchased and set up in the stack-room, and after exorcising the pests, our most valuable Mss. were placed therein. There has been no return of the trouble since.

A small number of volumes have been bound this year.

L. BELLE HAMLIN, *Librarian*.



## DONORS TO THE LIBRARY

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American Association for International Conciliation.....		23
American Historical Association .....		1
American Jewish Historical Society.....	I	
Boston Cty Hospital.....	I	1
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Canadian Institute .....	I	1
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Cincinnati—		
Bureau of Municipal Research.....		6
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Trustees of the Sinking Fund.....		1
University of Cincinnati .....		6
Colorado College .....		2
Colorado Scientific Society .....		9
Connecticut State Library .....		1
Essex Institute .....		1
Hartford Fire Insurance Company .....	I	
Holland Society of New York .....		1
Illinois State Historical Society.....	I	5
Indiana Historical Society .....		4
Institute Geológico de Mexico.....	I	4
International Hygienic Exhibition (Dresden).....		1
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Iowa State Historical Society .....	I	
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New Haven Colony Historical Society .....		I
New York Institute for the Deaf and Dumb.....		I
New York Public Library.....		10
New York State Historian .....	I	
New York State Historical Society.....	I	
New York State Sons of the Revolution.....	I	
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St. Louis Mercantile Library .....		2
St. Louis Republic, Editor of .....		I
Syracuse Public Library .....		I
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Universite de Toulouse .....		3
University of California .....		8
University of Colorado .....		7
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University of Toronto .....		1
Williams Directory Company .....	1	
Wisconsin State Historical Society .....	2	
Worcester (Mass.) Public Library .....		2
Yale University .....	1	2
Allan Mrs. M. C. .... (Obituary notices Cin'ti)	2	
Ayres, Dr. S. C. ....	2	2
Bell, C. W. ....7 misc &		2
Bok, E. ....	1	
Bourne, J., Jr. ....		1
Bragley, A. W. ....		1
Cadle, C. ....	1	
Cleland, A. M. ....		1
Cranek, Mrs. C. D. ....		14
Debar, J. ....	1	
Depew, C. M. ....		2
Edmondson, R. E. ....	1	1
Farnsworth, E. C. ....	1	
Gallinger, J. H. ....		1
Green, C. R. ....		1
Greve, Mrs. T. L. A. ....180 cop. Cist's W'kly Advertiser		
Hollingshead, Mrs. R. M. ....	5	8
Hunt, G. P. ....		1
McLane, J. ....5 broadsides		
Maxwell, W. H. ....Newspapers &		17
Middleton, Mrs. G. A. ....		8
Middleton, Miss E. ....1 autograph of Bishop Vincent		
Moffat, R. B. ....	1	
Moon, J. H. ....	1	
Moore, C. B. ....	2	
Morrow, J. ....1 newspaper		
Polander, W. B. ....		1
Sampson, W., dec. Heirs of. ....2 Maps &	144	9
Short, C. W. ....Broadsides, cards	1	48
Snape, W. ....		1
Taft, Hulbert .....	150	
Thayer, G. A. ....		1
Thompson, S. ....	1	
Welch, Mrs. A. ....		1
Vossion, Louis J. ....	1	
Bliss, E. F. ....Misc. &	30	95





# MEMBERS

		VOL.	PAM.
Chatfield, Mrs. A. H.....	2 newspapers &	12	172
Davis, N. H. (lately deceased).....	1 early newspaper		
Hamlin, L. B.....	Miscellanies &		9
James, D. L.....		1	37
Neave, Miss J. C.....		2	
Wilby, J. ....		5	33
Wilson, Mrs. O. J.....			1
Winslow, J. F.....	Broadsides, Miscellanies &	2	8
Woods, H. F.....		1	



## PRESIDENT'S REPORT

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The bequests to us by Erasmus Gest were noticed in my report two years ago.

Last spring the Society received from Mr. E. C. Reemelin, Mr. Gest's Executor, the statue of Mercury and the stone tablet bequeathed by the second codicil to his will. We had previously received the crayon portrait of himself. Both the statue and the tablet were at the time of the death of Mr. Gest in the Cincinnati Art Museum; with the approval of the Society, your President arranged with the Curator of the Art Museum that they should remain in the Art Museum, as loaned to it by your Society.

The bequest of \$5,000 for the Building Fund, in the same codicil, paid an inheritance tax of \$232.87 to the State of Kentucky. The remainder, \$4,767.13, your President received during the past summer and fall, from James C. Wright, Esq., of Newport, Ky., Administrator with the will annexed of Erasmus Gest, deceased.

As matter of interest, preserving the language of these gifts, Item IV of Mr. Gest's codicil is here quoted, as follows:

### ITEM IV OF SECOND CODICIL TO WILL,

Dated Twenty-First day of  
September, 1907.

"ITEM IV. Having been long a member of, and having heretofore given to The Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio a large number of my books, the main part of which for the convenience of said Society temporarily located in the Van Worner Library Building at the University of Cincinnati, are at present permitted to remain at my residence in Campbell County, Kentucky, said books containing the book plate of said Society, as well as my own placed there before I made such gift, and hoping to see said Society in a permanent home of its own, I give and bequeath to said Society a statue of Mercury procured by me prior to 1860 in London, belonging to me, but at present loaned to, and located



in the Art Museum of The Cincinnati Museum Association in Eden Park, Cincinnati, Ohio.

And I further give and bequeath to said Society an engraved stone tablet belonging to me, but now loaned to, and in the Art Museum of said The Cincinnati Museum Association, and popularly known as the Gest Tablet, which tablet was exhumed from approximately near the center and base of the old mound by the men employed in making the excavation for opening Mound Street, between Fifth and Longworth Streets, in the City of Cincinnati, under my direction as City Surveyor, at that time, of said City, and delivered to me at the time, and in my possession or control ever since its exhumation.

And I further give and bequeath to said Society \$5,000 to be used and expended towards the erection of a permanent home and building which I understand said Society hopes to erect at some convenient place down town in Cincinnati, more accessible than its present location in Burnet Woods Park. If said hope is not realized within ten years from my death, said \$5,000. may be used for any other purpose said Society may desire.

And I further give and bequeath to said Society the large crayon picture of myself, now hanging in my library in Kentucky."

It is my pleasure to mention another fine gift to the Society. In October we received from Mrs. A. J. Howe \$5,000 in cash, to be called "The A. J. Howe Fund;" the net income to be used in the support of the Society. Acknowledgment has been made to Mrs. Howe. As further record of our appreciation this mention is made here.

Mrs. Howe is now, and has been since 1894, a valued Corporate Member of the Society, succeeding in such membership her husband, Dr. A. J. Howe, who was a Corporate Member from 1889 to 1891. It is very properly suggested that Mrs. Howe be made, at this Annual Meeting, an Honorary Member of the Society.

The contents of our Quarterlies for the year (1910) are:

Vol. V, No. 1, January-March, Brief account of some journeys of Major Peyton Short, of Kentucky, and of James McBride, of Hamilton, Ohio, Edited by L. Belle Hamlin, Librarian of the Society.

No. 2, April-June, Selections from the correspondence of Oran Follett, Esq. (1830-33), Part 1, arranged and edited by L. Belle Hamlin.



No. 3, July-September, Trenton Circular "To the Respectable Public" Nov. 26, 1787; Letter of John Cleves Symmes to Elias Boudinot, Jan. 12-15, 1792, with explanatory note by Charles T. Greve.

No. 4, October-December, which will, as usual, consist of the annual reports.

In February last our Librarian discovered that a sort of destructive bug and its grub were attacking some of the MS. collections; some damage had been done; the pest seemed to multiply rapidly. Your President and Librarian consulted experts, particularly Dr. Charles Dury, of Avondale, and Mr. Herbert Putnam, Librarian of Congress, to learn the name and nature of the bug and the best means of getting rid of it. So advised, your Librarian, by a vigorous campaign of fumigation and cleaning, succeeded in arresting the spread and terminating the cause of the trouble. The episode seemed of sufficient importance to mention here. It is the first instance of the kind in the history of the Society so far as your President is aware. The offending insects were of the *Dermestidæ* family.

The experience of the last ten years under the contract with the University of Cincinnati, dated November 8th, 1899, had suggested certain changes for the mutual convenience of the University and your Society.

First, that your Librarian should no longer be and be known as Assistant Librarian of the University or part of its staff, and should be paid directly by your Society, instead of through the Treasurer of the University, as was provided in the original contract of November, 1899.

Second, a more definite understanding as to what parts of the stack room in the Van Wormer Building should be occupied by the books of your Society.

Both these changes were agreed to in a memorandum dated 10th of May, 1910, signed by Robert W. Stewart, Chairman, on behalf of the Board of Directors of the University of Cincinnati, and by your President on behalf of your Society.

The Corporate Membership has been increased by the election during the year of six new members.

We have lost by death three members, Howard S. Winslow, February 1, 1910, Alexander McDonald, March 18, 1910, and





from the Life Membership Nathaniel Henschman Davis, November 17, 1910. Mr. Davis had been a Life Member for a quarter of a century; one of the Curators of the Society ever since 1899; its Treasurer in 1889, and Vice-President from 1890 to 1898, inclusive; a constant and liberal friend of the Society.

Your President has made effort during the year to obtain opportunity to copy the records of the Old Duck Creek Baptist Church, said to be the oldest church society in this part of the state. So far he has not succeeded.

The year's growth of the usefulness of our Society and the increase of our library and collections appears in the report of our faithful Librarian.

I have firm faith we shall some day get a home of our own down town.

JOSEPH WILBY, *President.*

December 5, 1910.

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## MEMORIAL ON THE DEATH OF NATHANIEL HENCHMAN DAVIS

BY EUGENE F. BLISS

*Read at the Annual Meeting, December 5, 1910.*

The details of the life of Nathaniel Henschman Davis have lately been given to all our newspapers and I need not repeat them here. I wish to speak of him as a member of our Society. He was never prominent in our affairs and few of our associates have been so, but he was convinced we were striving to do worthy work and was conscientious in the performance of such duties as fell to his lot. His loss will be felt as deeply here as in those matters in which he took a more prominent part and felt, probably, a deeper concern.

He was chosen a member of this Society in 1884, at the age of twenty-six. Two years later he became a life-member; in the report for 1889 he appears as treasurer, twice afterward was he vice-president and a curator for the last eleven years.



# REPORT OF TREASURER

December 5, 1910.

*For the President and Members of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio.*

I have the honor to present the annual report of the Assets and Liabilities of The Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio for the year ending November 30th, 1910.

## Schedule "A."

### STATEMENT OF ASSETS AND LIABILITIES

November 30th, 1910.

#### ASSETS.

Cash in Bank, . . . . .			\$1,034 56
Central Trust & Safe Deposit Co., Interest Account, . .			15 33
Investments, . . . . .	Exhibit 1,		34,734 42
Fee of Property No. 107 W. Eighth St., . . . . .			29,000 00
Erasmus Gest Fund, Principal, . . . . .	9*,	\$95 37	
"    "    "    Income, . . . . .	9*,	24 65	
			120 02
A. J. Howe Fund, Principal, . . . . .	11*,	\$87 50	
"    "    "    Income, . . . . .	11*,	58 75	
			146 25
Total Assets, . . . . .			<u>\$65,050 58</u>

#### LIABILITIES.

General Fund, . . . . .	Exhibit 2,	\$716 25
Building Fund, . . . . .	" 3,	17,185 62
Endowment Fund, . . . . .	" 4,	12,320 00
Life Membership Fund, . . . . .	" 5,	5,037 13
Julius Dexter Publication Fund, Investment, . .	" 6,	1,074 25
"    "    "    Income, . . . . .	" 6,	59 45
E. H. Appleton Memorial Fund, Investment, . .	" 7,	4,143 40
"    "    "    Income, . . . . .	" 7,	178 26
Halsted Neave Fund, Investment, . . . . .	" 8,	4,408 25
"    "    "    Income, . . . . .	" 8,	228 26
Erasmus Gest Fund, Investment, . . . . .	" 9,	4,862 50
Margaret Rives King Fund, Investment, . . . .	" 10,	8,397 50
"    "    "    Income, . . . . .	" 10,	291 17
A. J. Howe Fund, Investment, . . . . .	" 11,	5,087 50
Colonial Dames Fund, Investment, . . . . .	" 12,	200 00
"    "    "    Income, . . . . .	" 12,	21 60
Binding Fund, Investment, . . . . .	" 13,	807 64
"    "    "    Income, . . . . .	" 13,	31 80
Total Liabilities, . . . . .		<u>\$65,050 58</u>

\* These deficits will be reimbursed from 1911 Income.



## Schedule "B."

## STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

For Year Ended November 30th, 1910.

## RECEIPTS.

DUES—1908, . . . . .	\$10 00	
1909, . . . . .	20 00	
1910, . . . . .	580 00	
		\$610 00
INCOME FROM INVESTMENTS:		
General Fund, . . . . .	\$30 00	
Life Membership Fund, . . . . .	274 50	
Julius Dexter Publication Fund, . . . . .	45 20	
E. H. Appleton Memorial Fund, . . . . .	197 50	
Halsted Neave Fund, . . . . .	196 80	
Margaret Rives King Fund, . . . . .	340 00	
Colonial Dames Fund, . . . . .	12 00	
Binding Fund, . . . . .	34 00	
Erasmus Gest Fund, . . . . .	50 00	
		1,180 00
Rent of 107 W. Eighth St., to Oct. 31, 1910, . . . . .		800 00
A. J. Howe Fund, . . . . .	\$5,000 00	
Erasmus Gest, Legacy for Building, . . . . .	4,767 13	
		9,767 13
Total Receipts, . . . . .		\$12,357 13

## DISBURSEMENTS.

Salaries, Librarian and Janitor, . . . . .	\$1,008 31	
Assistant for Librarian, . . . . .	15 70	
Stationery, . . . . .	8 33	
Postage, . . . . .	5 00	
Printing, . . . . .	225 17	
Audit of Treasurer's Books, . . . . .	25 00	
Safe Deposit Box Rental, . . . . .	7 00	
Miscellaneous, . . . . .	313 93	
E. H. Appleton Fund, Purchases and Expenses, . . . . .	62 41	
M. R. King Fund, Purchases and Expenses, . . . . .	209 37	
Colonial Dames Fund, Purchases and Expenses, . . . . .	9 50	
Binding Fund, Binding, . . . . .	10 80	
General Fund, . . . . .	77 22	
		\$1,977 74
INVESTMENTS PURCHASED FOR:		
Erasmus Gest Fund, . . . . .	\$4,862 50	
Accrued Interest, . . . . .	74 65	
		4,937 15
A. J. Howe Fund, . . . . .	\$5,087 50	
Accrued Interest, . . . . .	58 75	
		5,146 25
		\$12,061 14
EXCESS RECEIPTS OVER DISBURSEMENTS, . . . . .		295 99
CASH BALANCE AT DECEMBER 1st, 1909, . . . . .		738 57
CASH BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30th, 1910, . . . . .		\$1,034 56



(Exhibit "1")

# STATEMENT OF INVESTMENTS AND SAVINGS DEPOSITS

At November 30th, 1910.

## GENERAL FUND:

10 Shares Cincinnati Street Railway Co. Stock (cost), \$716 25

## LIFE MEMBERSHIP FUND:

83 Shares Cincinnati Street Railway Co. Stock (cost), \$4,425 75

Part Interest in \$2,000 C. & O. Railway Co. 4½% Bonds (cost), 314 38

4 Shares Cincinnati Street Railway Co. Stock (cost), 289 00

\$5,029 13

Savings Deposit—3% Central Trust & Safe Dep. Co., 8 00

5,037 13

## JULIUS DEXTER PUBLICATION FUND:

12 Shares Cincinnati Street Railway Co. Stock (cost), \$834 00

Savings Deposit—3% Central Trust & Safe Dep. Co., 16 00

Part Interest in C. L. & N. Railway Co. Bond, 224 25

1,074 25

## E. H. APPLETON MEMORIAL FUND:

3 Bonds C. H. & D. Railway Co. 4% (cost), \$2,882 50

13 Shares Cincinnati Street Railway Co. Stock (cost), 677 50

2 Shares Cincinnati Street Railway Co. Stock (cost), 144 50

Part Interest in \$2,000 C. & O. Railway Co. 4½% Bonds (cost), 314 37

\$4,018 87

Savings Deposit—3% Central Trust & Safe Dep. Co., 27 03

Part Interest in C. L. & N. Railway Co. Bond, 97 50

4,143 40

## HALSTED NEAVE FUND:

C. L. & N. Railway Co. Bond, 4%, \$1,000 00

Kineon Coal Co. Bond, 5%, 1,000 00

2 Norfolk & Western Railway Co. Bonds, 4% (cost), 1,755 00

Part Interest in Kentucky Central Railway 4% Bond, 1950, 487 50

Part Interest in C. L. & N. Railway Bond, 165 75

4,408 25

## MARGARET RIVES KING FUND:

4 Bonds C. H. & D. Railway Co., 4½% (cost), \$4,512 50

7 Shares Cincinnati Street Railway Co. Stock (cost), 481 25

Part Interest in \$2,000 C. & O. Railway Co. 4½% Bond, 1,551 25

Part Interest in Kentucky Central Railway Co. 4% Bonds, 1950, 1,462 50

Part Interest in C. L. & N. Railway Co. Bond, 390 00

8,397 50

## COLONIAL DAMES FUND:

4 Shares Cincinnati Street Railway Co. Stock (cost), 200 00

## BINDING FUND:

10 Shares Cincinnati Street Railway Co. Stock (cost), \$680 63

Savings Deposit—3% Central Trust & Safe Dep. Co., 29 51

Part Interest in C. L. & N. Railway Co. Bond, 97 50

807 64





ERASMUS GEST FUND:

C. & O. \$1,000 Bond due 1992 (cost), . . . . .	\$1,017 50	
Chattanooga Station Co. Bond, \$1,000 (cost), . . . .	930 00	
Cincinnati, Newport & Covington Bond, \$1,000 (cost),	1,045 00	
2 Western Pacific Railway Co. Bonds, \$1,000 (cost),	1,870 00	
		<hr/> 4,862 50

A. J. HOWE FUND:

5 \$1,000 C. & O. Railway Co. Bonds, 1992 (cost), .	5,087 50	
Total, . . . . .		<hr/> <hr/> \$34,734 42

(Exhibit "2")

GENERAL FUND

November 30th, 1910.

RECEIPTS AND TRANSFERS:

Dues, 1908, . . . . .	\$10 00	
" 1909, . . . . .	20 00	
" 1910, . . . . .	590 00	
		<hr/> \$620 00
Cincinnati Street Railway Dividend, . . . . .	30 00	
Transferred from Endowment Fund Account, of Interest on Endowment Fund Loaned to Building Fund, . . . . .	615 00	
Transferred from Life Membership Income Account, .	274 79	
		<hr/> \$1,539 79

DISBURSEMENTS:

Salaries, Librarian and Janitor, . . . . .	\$1,008 31	
Assistant for Librarian, . . . . .	15 70	
Printing, . . . . .	225 17	
Postage, . . . . .	23 85	
Subscription and Dues, . . . . .	51 00	
Paper for Quarterly, . . . . .	26 22	
Dues of Librarian, . . . . .	10 00	
Stationery, . . . . .	95	
General Expense, . . . . .	370 11	
		<hr/> 1,731 31

EXCESS DISBURSEMENTS OVER RECEIPTS CARRIED TO BUILDING FUND, . . . . Exhibit 3,

---

\$101 52

GENERAL FUND INVESTMENT ACCOUNT, . . .

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\$716 25



(Exhibit "3")  
**BUILDING FUND**  
 November 30th, 1910.

**INCOME ACCOUNT.**

**RECEIPTS AND TRANSFERS:**

Rent to October 1st, 1910, . . . . .	\$800 00	
Deficiency Transferred to Principal Account, . . . .	514 38	
	<hr/>	\$1,314 38

**DISBURSEMENTS:**

Deficiency to December 1st, 1909, . . . . .	\$507 86	
Interest on Endowment Fund, . . . . .	615 00	
Deficiency from General Fund, . . . . .	191 52	
	<hr/>	<u>1,314 38</u>

**PRINCIPAL FUND.**

Credit Balance at December 1st, 1909, . . . . .	\$17,192 14	
Transferred from Income Account, . . . . .	6 52	
	<hr/>	\$17,185 62

(Exhibit "4")  
**ENDOWMENT FUND**  
 November 30th, 1910.

**INCOME ACCOUNT.**

**RECEIPTS:**

Interest on Loan to Building Fund, Transferred to General Fund, . . . . .	<u>\$615 00</u>
--	-----------------

**PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT.**

CREDIT BALANCE AT DECEMBER 1ST, 1909, . . . . .	<u>\$12,320 00</u>
CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30th, 1910, . . . . .	<u>\$12,320 00</u>



(Exhibit "5")

## LIFE MEMBERSHIP FUND

November 30th, 1910.

### INCOME ACCOUNT.

#### RECEIPTS:

Cincinnati Street Railway Dividends, . . . . .	\$261 00	
C. & O. Railway Bond Interest, . . . . .	13 50	
Interest on Deposits, . . . . .	29	
		<u>\$274 79</u>

#### DISBURSEMENTS:

Transferred to General Fund, . . . . .		<u>\$274 79</u>
--	--	-----------------

### INVESTMENT ACCOUNT.

CREDIT BALANCE AT DECEMBER 1st, 1909, . . . . .	<u>\$5,037 13</u>
CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30th, 1910, . . . . .	<u>\$5,037 13</u>

(Exhibit "6")

## JULIUS DEXTER PUBLICATION FUND

November 30th, 1910.

### INCOME ACCOUNT.

Credit Balance at December 1st, 1909, . . . . .	\$13 65
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#### RECEIPTS:

Cincinnati Street Railway Dividends, . . . . .	\$36 00	
C. L. & N. Railway Bond Interest, . . . . .	9 20	
Interest on Deposits, . . . . .	60	
		<u>45 80</u>

CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30th, 1910, .	<u>\$59 45</u>
--	----------------

### INVESTMENT ACCOUNT.

CREDIT BALANCE AT DECEMBER 1st, 1909, . . . . .	<u>\$1,074 25</u>
CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30th, 1910, . . . . .	<u>\$1,074 25</u>



(Exhibit "7")

## E. H. APPLETON MEMORIAL FUND

November 30th, 1910.

### INCOME ACCOUNT.

Credit Balance at December 1st, 1909, . . . . . \$42 28

#### RECEIPTS:

Cincinnati Street Railway Dividend, . . . . .	\$45 00	
C. H. & D. Railway Bond Interest, . . . . .	135 00	
C. & O. Railway Bond Interest, . . . . .	13 50	
C. L. & N. Railway Bond Interest, . . . . .	4 00	
Interest on Deposits, . . . . .	89	
		<hr/>
		198 39
		<hr/>
		\$240 67

#### DISBURSEMENTS:

Books Purchased, . . . . .	62 41	
		<hr/>
CREDIT BALANCE NOVEMBER 30th, 1910, . . . . .	\$178 26	

### INVESTMENT ACCOUNT.

CREDIT BALANCE AT DECEMBER 1st, 1909, . . . . . \$4,143 40

CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30th, 1910, . . . . . \$4,143 40

(Exhibit "8")

## HALSTED NEAVE FUND

November 30th, 1910.

### INCOME ACCOUNT.

Credit Balance at December 1st, 1909, . . . . . \$31 46

#### RECEIPTS:

C. L. & N. Railway Bond Interest, . . . . .	\$46 80	
Kentucky Central Railway Bond Interest, . . . . .	20 00	
N. & W. Railway Bond Interest, . . . . .	80 00	
Kineon Coal Co. Bond Interest, . . . . .	50 00	
		<hr/>
		196 80

CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30th, 1910, . . . . . \$228 26

### INVESTMENT ACCOUNT.

CREDIT BALANCE AT DECEMBER 1st, 1909, . . . . . \$4,408 25

CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30th, 1910, . . . . . \$4,408 25





(Exhibit "9")

## ERASMUS GEST FUND

November 30th, 1910

### INCOME ACCOUNT

#### RECEIPTS :

Western Pacific Ry. Bond Interest, . . . . .	\$50 00
--	---------

#### DISBURSEMENTS :

Accrued Interest Chattanooga Station Co. Bond, . .	\$6 22	
Accrued Interest C. N. & C. St. Ry. Co. Bond, . .	7 78	
Accrued Interest Western Pacific Ry. Co., . . . . .	48 90	
Accrued Interest & Commissions C. & O. Bond, . .	11 75	\$74 65

*DEBIT BALANCE NOV. 30TH, 1910, . . . . .	\$24 65
---	---------

### INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

Purchase of Chattanooga Sta. Co., \$1,000 Bond due 1957, . .	\$930 00
Purchase of C. N. C. St. Ry. \$1,000 Bond due 1922, . .	1,045 00
Purchase of 2 Western Pac. Ry. Co. \$1,000 Bonds due	
1933, . . . . .	1,870 00
Purchase of C. & O. Ry. \$1,000 Bond due 1992, . . . .	1,017 50

CREDIT BALANCE AT NOV. 30TH, 1910, . . .	\$4,862 50
--	------------

### PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT

#### RECEIPTS :

July 13th, 1910, Cash Received, . . . . .	\$4,500 00
Nov. 7th, 1910, Cash Final Payment, . . . . .	267 13
	\$4,767 13

#### DISBURSEMENTS :

Transferred to Investment Account as above, . . . .	- 4,862 50
*DEBIT BALANCE NOV. 30th, 1910, . . . . .	\$95 37

\*These deficits will be reimbursed from 1911 income.



(Exhibit "10")

## MARGARET RIVES KING FUND

November 30th, 1910

### INCOME ACCOUNT

Credit Balance at Dec. 1st, 1909, . . . . . \$160 54

#### RECEIPTS:

Cincinnati St. Ry. Co. Dividends, . . . . .	\$21 00
C. H. & D. Ry. Co. Bond Interest, . . . . .	180 00
C. & O. Ry. Co. Bond Interest, . . . . .	63 00
Ky. Central Ry. Co. Bond Interest, . . . . .	60 00
C. L. & N. Co. Bond Interest, . . . . .	16 00
	<hr/>
	\$340 00

#### DISBURSEMENTS:

Purchase of Books, . . . . .	\$500 54
	209 37

CREDIT BALANCE NOV. 30TH, 1910, . . . . .	<hr/> <hr/> \$291 17
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### INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

Credit Balance Dec 1st, 1909. . . . .	<hr/> \$8,397 50
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Credit Balance Nov. 30th, 1910, . . . . .	<hr/> \$8,397 50
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(Exhibit "11")

## A. J. HOWE FUND

November 30th, 1910

### INCOME ACCOUNT

#### DISBURSEMENTS:

Accrued Int. and Commission on C. & O. Ry. Co. Bonds, . . . . .	* \$58 75
--	-----------

DEBIT BALANCE AT NOV. 30TH, 1910, . . . . .	<hr/> \$58 75
---	---------------

### INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

Purchase of 5 C. & O. Ry. Co. Bonds \$1,000 due 1992, .	<hr/> \$5,087 50
---	------------------

CREDIT BALANCE AT NOV. 30TH, 1910, . . . . .	<hr/> \$5,087 50
--	------------------

### PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT

#### RECEIPTS:

Cash Received Oct. 10, 1910, . . . . .	\$5,000 00
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#### DISBURSEMENTS:

Transferred to Investment Account, as above, . . .	<hr/> \$5,087 50
--	------------------

DEBIT BALANCE NOV. 30TH, 1910, . . . . .	<hr/> * \$87 50
--	-----------------

\* These deficits will be reimbursed from 1911 Income.



(Exhibit "12")

## COLONIAL DAMES FUND

November 30th, 1910

### INCOME ACCOUNT

Credit Balance Dec. 1st, 1909, . . . . .	\$19 10
RECEIPTS:	
Cincinnati Street Ry. Co. Dividends, . . . . .	12 00
	<hr/>
	\$31 10
DISBURSEMENTS:	
Purchase of Books, . . . . .	9 50
	<hr/>
CREDIT BALANCE NOV. 30TH, 1910, . . . . .	\$21 60
	<hr/>

### INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

Credit Balance Dec. 1st, 1909, . . . . .	\$200 00
Credit Balance Nov. 30th, 1910, . . . . .	<hr/>
	\$200 00
	<hr/>

(Exhibit "13")

## BINDING FUND

November 30th, 1910

### INCOME ACCOUNT

Credit Balance at Dec. 1st, 1909, . . . . .	\$7 59
RECEIPTS:	
Cincinnati Street Ry. Dividends, . . . . .	\$30 00
C. L. & N. Bond Interest, . . . . .	4 00
Interest on Deposits, . . . . .	1 01
	<hr/>
	35 01
	<hr/>
	\$42 60
DISBURSEMENTS:	
Binding, . . . . .	10 80
	<hr/>
CREDIT BALANCE AT NOV. 30TH, 1910, . . .	\$31 80
	<hr/>

### PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT

Credit Balance at Dec. 1st, 1909, . . . . .	\$807 64
Credit Balance at Nov. 30th, 1910, . . . . .	<hr/>
	\$807 64
	<hr/>



## REPORT OF AUDITOR

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Cincinnati, December 3rd, 1910.

*To the President and Members of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, Cincinnati.*

Sirs:—

In accordance with instructions, examination has been made of the books and accounts of The Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio for the year ended November 30th, 1910, and we submit as part of this report the following Schedules, viz.:

*Schedule "A"*—Statements of Assets and Liabilities at November 30th, 1910.

*Schedule "B"*—Statement of Receipts and Disbursements for the year ended November 30th, 1910.

These Schedules are supported by sundry Exhibits showing the principal items contained therein.

Receipts and Disbursements have been examined and found correct and the Cash Balance as shown by the books at date of closing, November 30th, 1910, agrees with balance on deposit in bank.

Securities as shown by Investment Account have been duly examined and found in accordance with account as shown by Exhibit 1.

The statement of Assets and Liabilities, as shown, represents the financial condition of the Society at date of closing, November 30th, 1910.

Respectfully submitted,

GUY H. KENNEDY,  
*Certified Public Accountant.*





## CORPORATE MEMBERS

---

Anderson, Davis C.	Keyes, Miss Mary E.
Anderson, Larz W.	Kittredge, Edmund W.
Anderson, William H.	Leaman, Mrs. Robert F.
Anderson, Mrs. William P.	Levy, Harry M.
Ault, L. A.	Longworth, Mrs. Nicholas
Balke, Rudolph F.	Ludlow, William S.
Battelle, John G.	Miller, Griffin T.
Brunswick, B. H.	Outcalt, Miller
Caldwell, Charles E.	Parkinson, George B.
Callahan, John R.	Patterson, Jefferson
Carew, Joseph T.	Patterson, John H.
Cist, Charles M.	Patterson, Robert
Compton, William C.	Pendleton, Elliott H.
Dabney, Charles W.	Procter, William Cooper
Dandridge, Miss Mary E.	Procter, Mrs. William Cooper
Davis, Mrs. Nathaniel Henchman	Pyle, E. C.
DeCamp, Walter A.	Ransohoff, Joseph
Emery, Mrs. Thomas J.	Rosenthal, C. H.
Foley, B. W.	Schmidlapp, J. G.
Foster, Miss Anna H.	Shillito, Stewart
Foster, William Lytle	Storer, Bellamy
Forchheimer, Mrs. Frederick	Strobridge, Nelson W.
Freiburg, Maurice J.	Taft, Charles P.
Gano, Mrs. John A.	Taylor, William W.
Goepper, Edward	Voorheis, Albert B.
Greve, Charles Theodore	Whitcomb, Merrick
Hamlin, Miss L. Belle	Wiborg, Frank B.
Harrison, William H.	Wiborg, Mrs. Frank B.
Henderson, Edwin	Wilson, Obed J.
Hinkle, Frederick W.	Wilson, Mrs. Obed J.
Hollister, Howard C.	Winslow, John F.
Holmes, John R.	Worthington, Edward
Ingalls, M. E.	Worthington, William
James, Davis L.	Wulsin, Lucien



## LIFE MEMBERS

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Anderson, Mrs. Louise N.	Laws, Miss Annie
Eliss, Eugene F.	Livingood, Charles J.
Bullock, James W.	Neave, Miss Alice
Chatfield, Albert H.	Neave, Miss Jane C.
Chatfield, Mrs. Albert H.	Procter, Harley T.
Fleischmann, Julius	Storer, Mrs. Bellamy
Fletcher, Miss Clara B.	Thomson, Peter G.
Gest, Joseph H.	Vail, Henry H.
Hurd, E. O.	Walker, Mrs. Paul Francis
Jones, Frank J.	Wilby, Joseph
Jones, Mrs. Frank J.	Woods, Harry F.

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## CORRESPONDING MEMBERS

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Adams, Charles Francis	Hayes, E. G.
Cox, Isaac J.	Heath, William McK.
Duro, Cesario F.	Hoyt, Albert H.
Foulke, William Dudley	Thwaites, Reuben Gold
Galbreath, Charles P.	Tyson, Philip T.
Green, Samuel A.	

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## HONORARY MEMBERS

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Durrett, Reuben T.	Verable, William H.
Howe, Mrs. Andrew J.	

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## DIED

- Mr. Nathaniel Henchman Davis, November 17, 1910.  
Mr. Alexander McDonald, March 18, 1910.  
Mr. Howard S. Winslow, February 1, 1910.



Quarterly Publication of the His-  
torical and Philosophical  
Society of Ohio

Vol. VI, 1911, No. 1  
JANUARY-MARCH

Translation of YR AMERICAN, A Welsh  
Pamphlet

By the Rev. B. W. Chidlaw

CINCINNATI, OHIO  
PRESS OF JENNINGS AND GRAHAM



# THE AMERICAN

WHICH CONTAINS

NOTES OF A JOURNEY FROM THE OHIO VALLEY TO WALES

A VIEW OF THE STATE OF OHIO  
A HISTORY OF WELSH SETTLEMENTS IN AMERICA

INSTRUCTIONS TO ENQUIRERS

Before the Journey, on the Journey, and in the Country

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*By*

THE REV. B. W. CHIDLAW, A. M.

Minister of the Gospel in Ohio

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*THE SECOND EDITION*

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LLANRWST:  
PRINTED BY JOHN JONES  
1840





## NOTICE.

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I have disposed of my Book called "*The American*",  
to Mr. J. Jones, Printer, Llanrwst, and grant to him  
all the right and Claim to the same.

B. W. CHIDLAW, A. M.  
Paddy's Run, Ohio.

Llanrwst Decr. 25, 1839.



## THE AMERICAN, &c.

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### CONTENTS OF THE CHAPTERS.

- I. The City of Cincinnati—Columbus—Prison—Association—The Plains—Lake Erie—Niagara Falls—Indian Village—Rochester—Syracuse—Onandago Indians—Utica—The President—Anniversary Meetings—New York—Voyage—Seeing a Shipwreck—Burial at Sea—Reaching the land.
- II. The State of Ohio—Explanation of the word Ohio—Divisions—Population—Nature of the Soil—Products—Coal—Iron—Salt—Stone—Canals—Roads—Climate—Taxes—Government—Colleges and Schools—Religion.
- III. Welsh settlements—Paddy's Run—Radnor—Welsh Hills—Columbus—Cincinnati—Owl Creek—Palmyra—Gallia and Jackson—Putnam and Van Wert, in Ohio—Utica—Deerfield—Floyd—Steuben—Remsen—New York city, in New York—Pittsburg—Ebensburg and Pottsville, in Pennsylvania.
- IV. Instructions as to qualifications necessary in persons who aim to secure a comfortable competence in America—Liverpool—Embarking—Changing Money—Clothes—Food—Conduct at sea—Reaching America—Travelling—Cost.



## INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

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The Welsh pamphlet, a translation of which appears in this Quarterly, contains 48 pp., is 12mo. in size, and bears this title: Yr American | Yr lwn sydd yn cynnwys | Nodau ar Daith o Ddyffryn Ohio i Gymru, | Golwg ar Dalaeth Ohio; | Hanes Sesyddiadau Cymreig yn America; | Cyfarwyddiadau i Ymoïynwyr | Cyn y Daith, ar y Daith, ac yn y Wlad. | Gan y Parch. B. W. Chidlaw, A. M. | Gweinidog yr Esengyl yn Ohio. | Yr ail argraffiad. | Llanrwst: | Argraffwydd, Gan John Jones. | 1840. | A copy is in the collection of the Society.

The author, Reverend Benjamin Williams Chidlaw, has furnished an account of his own life under the title "The Story of my Life", and other sketches are to be found in the "Biographical Encyclopaedia of Ohio of the Nineteenth Century, 1876", and in the "Miami University Alumni Catalogue, 1899", p. 14, therefore it follows that the brief account here, is simply a reiteration of what has been previously printed.

He was born July 14, 1811, in Bala, County of Merioneth, North Wales, and accompanied his parents to this country in 1821. He writes that they landed in New York and journeyed from there westward, aiming to settle in Radnor township, Delaware county, Ohio, among friends who had emigrated earlier. They were conveyed by a sloop from New York to Albany; by wagon from Schenectady (across from Albany) to Utica; by a keel-boat from there to Black Rock; and by the steam-boat "Walk-in-the-Water" (the first boat propelled by steam in the waters of Lake Erie) to Sandusky; and by wagon from that point to their place of destination. His father died shortly after their arrival but his mother determined to remain, and purchased land in Radnor township, where she settled with her two small children.

The primary education of Mr. Chidlaw was obtained in the local school, but later he attended the Ohio University at Athens,



Ohio, and subsequently, the Miami University at Oxford, Ohio, and was graduated from there in 1833. During the three years following he studied for the ministry; was ordained a pastor by the Presbytery of Oxford, and soon after became the pastor of the Welsh Congregational church at Glengower, Butler Co. Ohio. In 1838 he was commissioned Missionary by the American Sunday School Union, which post he occupied for fifty-four years. He served as Chaplain of the 39th Regiment, O. V. I. for nearly a year during the Civil War, and later as agent of the Sanitary Commission. He was a Trustee of the Miami University for about thirty years, and a trustee of the Ohio Reform School for Boys, 1866-87. His death occurred July 14, 1892, while re-visiting his birthplace.

Mr. Chidlaw returned to his native country in 1836 and remained several years; it was during this sojourn that he prepared the pamphlet "YR AMERICAN" from recollections and a few notes made on that return journey. It has more of the quality of a guide-book than history, and it is apparent that his sole object in writing was to furnish guidance to compatriots emigrating to America.

The Reverend M. O. Evans, pastor of the Welsh Congregational Church of Cincinnati, made a *verbatim* translation at the request of Professor J. E. Bradford, of the Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, who having a copy, was curious to know the contents of the little work prepared by an early graduate of that University, who subsequently became an eminent minister of the gospel. Later this interpretation was placed by Prof. Bradford with the Society for publication. For this purpose a greater freedom in expression was desirable as the literal translation made by Mr. Evans was intended only to secure the context of the Welsh pamphlet. The re-modelling, therefore, has been done by me, with the approval of the translator, avoiding any change that would obscure the meaning or intent of the author.

L. BELLE HAMLIN.





## CHAPTER I.

### VOYAGE.

It is not easy to conceive the emotions that arise when parting with a beloved family, church and kind congregation, to face a long journey over sea and land. It was with feelings impossible to express that I left, on August 26, 1839, the neighborhood of *Paddy's Run*, and after travelling 20 miles in the company of genial friends, I came to the city of Cincinnati; the road good, but the weather remarkably hot.

In the evening I spoke upon Temperance in the Welsh Chapel; the cause is advancing, and through it many have been saved from the deadly clutch of drunkenness. As I left the Chapel the sound of rejoicing reached me, coming from the house of worship of the Wesleyan Negroes. I entered and my pleasure was great to see a crowd of black people joyously praising God, as they fervently prayed, sang, and rejoiced. I was asked to say a few words, and was led to the rostrum by a black preacher, who, having obtained a little silence, said, "*Come, dear brethren, try to be still, de white broder is going to talk to de sinners.*" Beautiful was the scene! To see those black children of Ethiopia enjoying religious liberty as sons of God in the distant western world was profoundly impressive.

In 1808 Cincinnati had less than 5000 inhabitants—now it contains 50,000 persons and is the commercial city of the west. It is situated on the Ohio river, and from its banks one can see large steamboats, some going up to Pittsburgh, a distance of 500 miles; some moving down to New Orleans, 1500 miles; and others to St. Anthony Falls, 1800 miles distant. In the winter four or five hundred thousand fat hogs, weighing from two to three hundred pounds each, are killed and salted, and then sent to the different markets by steamboat. They are fattened mainly with Indian corn and are sold for 2 or 3 pence per pound. This is the farmers' reward for his labors. The houses, built generally



of brick, are beautiful and commodious, the streets straight and wide. There are 30 Chapels, 9 large Schools, 4 Banks, and the Market-houses, 4 in number, hold market every day except Sunday, beginning at daybreak and ending at 9 or 10 in the morning. There are two Colleges, one for physicians and the other for lawyers,—and another is under the supervision of Papists. Besides these there are many other buildings both useful and magnificent. Twenty newspapers, either dailies or weeklies, are printed here. Half a century ago the place was a wilderness, the abode of Indians and wild animals. Great is the change wrought in so short a time! Leaving here August 27, 1839, I travelled in a conveyance 115 miles through a pleasant and fertile country: the farmers were sowing wheat, and the fields of Indian corn had begun to ripen. The towns were pretty numerous and appeared progressive. I reached Columbus, the State Capital, on the bank of the Scioto river, early on the 28th. The inhabitants number 7 or 8 thousand. The Government Sessions are held here. There are Asylums for the blind, dumb, deaf, and insane, large and imposing buildings of brick and hewn stone. Near the city, on the bank of the river, is the State Prison. To glance at this very fine building with its surrounding gardens, one might suppose it to be a gentleman's palace, but observing the iron doors and windows, one soon realises that criminals are confined there. All criminals from the 1,500,000 inhabitants of the State of Ohio are sent to this prison to be punished by hard labor during the term of imprisonment, which may be for one year or for a lifetime, according to the crime committed. At this time there were 445 prisoners in confinement, coming from every county in the State, of all ages, and of every rank in society. The prisoners' work of last year, after paying the prison expenses, netted a profit of 3000 lbs. to the State, and saved the citizens that amount of taxation. In the daytime they all labor—none allowed to speak a word; at night they are in cells with only the Bible for entertainment. Their clothing is of striped material. They are given plenty of wholesome food, but in every other way the life is one of punishment. A minister of the gospel labors among them, preaches on the Sabbaths, conducts family worship daily, and frequently visits them in their cells, and these services, under God's blessing, succeed in drawing tears from many eyes that never



wept before, and in softening many an adamantine heart. Many of the prisoners give satisfactory indications of reform and of the reign of grace in the soul, and it may be said that the gospel which had its trophies of victory in Nero's palace, has its living monuments within the walls of the penitentiary of Ohio.

I preached at night, in the above mentioned city, to a Welsh congregation, and the next day I went to Radnor in Delaware county, where many Welsh people reside and their number is continually increasing. An Association was held here by the Independents,<sup>1</sup> September 1, 1839, which was the first meeting in this place. Only a few preachers were present, namely: Reverends H. R. Pryce of Worthington, S. Howells of Columbus, M. M. Jones (formerly of Edensburg), and Rees Powell. The hearers were numerous and the services "dew-drenched", and we hope of benefit to our fellow-countrymen in this distant land. September 4th, I left Radnor in a conveyance, going through a flat and fertile country, 85 miles, to Sandusky on the shore of Lake Erie. The land here is low and sometimes wet. Much of the level lands, which they call Plains, is naturally treeless. Some of the Plains are 20 miles in circumference and are covered with wild grass, useful both for pasture and hay. The dry plains are ploughed as they are remarkably fertile. I saw one team of three yoke of oxen and two horses ploughing in this locality. After the first ploughing the soil becomes loose like ashes, and is easily handled. On one meadow I counted over a hundred haystacks weighing from two or three tons each, ready for use as fodder for the cattle during the winter. September the 5th, I left the State of Ohio in the steamboat "Erie" for Buffalo, in the State of New York, a distance of 230 miles. About 300 passengers were on board. We had pleasant weather and arrived in Buffalo the next day. Lake Erie is 270 miles long and from 30 to 40 wide, fresh water, and is navigable by vessels of 400 tons, and the number of boats and ships sailing upon it is remarkable. September 6th, I boarded a Rail Road car, and went 15 miles to visit the Niagara Falls, between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario, where all the waters of the northern lakes roll hurriedly and with unspeakable grandeur over a steep rock, 164 feet in height. This is one of the chief wonders of the American continent, with its roaring waters like an ever-

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<sup>1</sup> Now Congregationalists.



lasting "fingerpost", pointing out the magnificence of the works of the infinite Being who placed them there. Having looked at it from above and from below, with my eyes not half satisfied, I left on the Rail-Road for Lockport, and from thence on the canal to Utica.

On this journey I saw a village and country inhabited by a tribe of Indians (the Tuscaroras), civilized and living like their white neighbors. In this village is a chapel and a missionary laboring among them, and the gospel has been of great benefit to them. They were once a famous and numerous tribe, but through wars and drunkenness, they have become few—about 300 in number. I was carried on the canal to Utica, for ten shillings the hundred miles, and this included my provisions. The visit to the Indian village formed the pleasantest part of my trip to Utica, 234 miles which required four days. Many large towns are to be seen on the banks of the canal, and among them is Rochester situated also on the bank of the Genesee river, which is famous for its mills; I counted sixteen and in each of them from 6 to 12 pairs of stones which were grinding wheat to be sent on the canal to New York. In Syracuse are the most extensive salt works in the country. Here I saw many half civilized Indians of the Onondago tribe; they have land near the town; they have rejected the gospel and its messengers, and they do not seem as thriving as others whom I saw. They number over 400 and have a chief called Antioga who is 90 years old. The men wear clothing similar to the white men, but the women and children are in Indian apparel, wearing moccasins on their feet, cloth skirts of calico covered by ornaments of different materials and colors, blankets over their heads and shoulders, and silver ornaments in their ears and on their hands. I counted fifty pieces of silver arranged as a chain around the neck of a boy of five or six years of age. The mothers carry their children, under one year, bound to a board that they may be straight and strong when they grow to manhood. In passing through the town, I saw a number of Indians somewhat unruly through the effects of Alcohol—that enemy of the red, black, and white man, which had its claws upon one Indian, who was being taken away by some more sober. I asked an Indian standing near, who the drunkard was, and he replied, smiling, "*He no Indian now, white man made him drunk.*"





In size the Indian resembles the European; he is copper colored, and has long, rough, black hair like horsehair. It is mournful to think of the red dwellers of the extensive forests of the West, who once possessed this land with its fair valleys for hunting grounds, and then consider their present condition. Wars and ardent spirits have preyed upon them until nought but small remnants are now to be seen, and these are vanishing like mist before the intense rays of the sun. Great effort is being made in their behalf by the Missionary Societies, but as with humanity in general, the gospel receives but a cold reception and a rejection of its tender counsels. Their refusal of its free blessings forms a hindrance to the enjoyment of its precious privileges in this world and that to come.

At Utica I saw Martin Van Buren, the president of the United States, on horseback, without a servant following, and looking more like an ordinary farmer than the President over 15,000,000 people. While in Oncida county I spent a pleasant time in the Welsh districts, assisting my brethren at their Anniversaries. Looking at the number of hearers, the commodious houses of worship, and the spirit of the work, I could almost fancy myself in my native land. Having enjoyed their very pleasant fellowship, and partaken liberally of the kindness of the churches, I left on September 26th, going 96 miles on the Railroad to Albany where I was near my journey's end. In the evening I went down the Hudson river, 160 miles, on the steamboat *Dewitt Clinton*, to New York, and next morning, I could see from the boat the city in its magnificence before me. It has 320,000 inhabitants. I preached here to the Americans on Pearl Street, and to the Welsh Independents on Broome Street. I spent a few days in this city and received unusual kindness.

On October 1st I left the American coast on the ship *Columbus* (670 tons), bound for Liverpool, at 10 o'clock in the morning, to face the rough waves. As there was no wind when we started, a steamboat had to tow our vessel down as far as Sandyhook. Many other ships started with us, and among them the famous steamship *British Queen*, which shot past with the speed of forked lightning. Having reached the great sea, the boat left us; the wind rose; the sails were spread; and old *Columbus* began to rush through the waves at ten miles an hour. As the mantle of evening covered us we lost sight of land and



nothing was to be seen but green waves and blue sky. In the cabin there were three of us from Ohio, one from New York, and one from Pennsylvania, who had all the food and care necessary for our comfort. In the steerage, there were 70 or 80 passengers, and amongst them several were unruly and irreverent. In the cabin we paid (being supplied with everything necessary for the voyage) 20 lbs. each. In the steerage they paid 14 lbs. for only their passage, water, and fire.

On October 3d I was visited with sea sickness although I had been severely troubled three times before, however, with proper nursing, I did not suffer as much as I expected from it. It is a kindness in the guise of unkindness—evil that good may come, for better health is enjoyed afterwards.

On October 7th, when far out on the blue deep, I heard one of the sailors shout from the masthead "*Ship in distress.*" Soon after I saw a two-masted vessel with the waves sweeping over it, washing everything off its deck. We knew not its name—whence it came—whither it went—nor what happened to the sailors. They may possibly have been saved, but more likely they all sank into the watery grave.

October 14, I heard that a child had died in the Steerage, the mother's only child and she a widow. The body was wrapped in a piece of an old sail, a stone was laid to his feet, and one of the sailors brought him on deck, laid him on a board at the vessel's side, and as I read a portion of the burial chapter, lowered him into the great deep, to rest there until the morning when the sea shall give up its dead.

October 15, at night, we saw the light of the Cape Clear Lighthouse, in Ireland and on the morning of the 20th day we reached Liverpool, after a comfortable voyage, having met with no unpleasant accident during our sail of 3500 miles.



## CHAPTER II.

### A VIEW OF THE STATE OF OHIO.

It is well known to most Welsh people that many of their compatriots dwell in Ohio, which is one of the States of the Union, and is similar in character to the other western states. Strangers from all countries are continually settling there. The meaning of the word *Ohio* is not easily determined. It is the name of the pleasantest river and valley of the West as well as of the State. Some persons assert that the word signifies *bloody* and was applied to the river on account of the blood shed in the terrible battles of the Indians, while others claim that it was owing to the custom of the Indians to cry "O-HI-O" as they paddled their canoes upon the stream.

This State<sup>2</sup> lies between latitude 38° 30' north and longitude 80° 40' and 85° west of London. It is 220 miles long, 200 broad, and comprises 2,000,000 acres of land. It is divided into 75 counties and each county in parishes [townships]. The population has increased in the last fifty years in an almost incredible manner. In 1790 the inhabitants numbered 700 not including Indians, now, there are 1,500,000 white persons, 1500 Indians, and from 15,000 to 20,000 free Negroes. The settlers are from older States of the Union and from different countries of Europe. The government is free; the common language of the country is English although others are used. Strangers adopt the language of the English, their mode of living, of tilling the soil, and fall in with the customs of the Country generally. They enjoy both political and religious liberty, and their privileges are great and precious.

Fifty years ago savages and wild beasts were in possession of this land, and the echo of the warlike cries of the former, mingling with the evil noises of the beasts of prey, alone broke

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<sup>2</sup> Topography of Ohio: Latitude, 38° 22' and 41° 57' north; Longitude, 80° 35' and 84° 48' west; 225 miles long and 200 broad; and comprises 25,576,960 acres.



upon Nature's silence. But not so now; the wild beasts are destroyed and the Indians civilized or are retreating further into the wilderness. The extensive and fertile land is the dwelling-place of 1,500,000 free, moral, and comfortable people. It is the judgment of many intelligent persons, familiar with this section, that, if the land suitable for tillage, was cleared and cultivated like European lands, its products would be six times more than sufficient for its present occupants; and the same might be said of all the western states. Only indolence and inebriation could cause poverty in such a fruitful country.

The land of the southern part of the State is generally rolling while the northern portion is level. The soil, somewhat damp, is rarely either too high to plough or too wet to be converted into meadows. Trees grow naturally, except upon the low level plains, and are of various species, as oak, French hazel, ash, lime, cherry, hickory or walnut, pine, poplars, etc. The poplars are straight and tall without any branches for forty or fifty feet from the ground. Brushwood is very scarce in some parts but so dense in others as to be difficult to penetrate when walking or riding. Some of the oak trees are 15 feet in circumference and 100 feet in height, and in size excell the trees in this country [Wales], but are not as durable for some purposes. Wood is the common fuel of the country, although there is an abundance of coal on the banks of the Ohio river.

Land is divided into three grades when taxed. The first grade includes land in the valleys and on the river banks, where the soil is the richest and best in quality. I have seen fields of this grade, that had been under cultivation for forty years without fertilizer or rest, with as good a prospect for crops this year as in the past. It is easy to recognize good soil by the trees growing upon it—not by their size or number—but by their species. By this method land in the valleys is judged to answer best for raising Indian corn as it yields from 80 to 100 bushels an acre.

The second grade of soil is more common than the first. It is dark, loose, and rather coarse; it produces wheat, barley, oats, clover, etc., and is also suited for Indian corn, yielding from 40 to 60 bushels to an acre.

The soil in the hilly sections is placed in the third grade. This grade is desirable on account of its growth of trees and





frequently, for coal, iron, and stone. It is suitable for hay land and pasture, and produces excellent wheat. And further it is better for well springs and is healthier than the low plains. If there is no water convenient it may be obtained by digging a well from 10 to 50 feet deep. Thus we find that each grade has its advantages and disadvantages, which shows that a combination of each grade is most desirable if it can be secured. It is hill and vale that makes a farm convenient and valuable, easy to cultivate and of lasting quality. I never saw lime applied to soil in Ohio, but manure is beneficial to old soil and to the second and third grades.

On the banks of the Muskingum river and the Ohio, as far south as Portsmouth, there is abundance of coal, iron, salt, and hewn stone in the bosom of the earth which is easily obtainable. Limestone is to be found here and there throughout the entire State. There is not much being done yet with these products. What with the wool and flax, the produce of the fields and the gardens, the soap, sugar, and candle making, the striving farmer and his family need not fear, under God's blessing, for an abundance of food and suitable clothing.

There are in Ohio various small rivers which afford facilities for mills, woolen and cotton factories, and other works, but few of them are navigable by steamboats although during floods numerous rafts and other boats travel up and down these streams. The Ohio river washes the banks of the State on the south for 450 miles, and is navigable by the largest boats; there is hardly an hour of the day that some of them are not travelling on it, and there is a surprising amount of transportation by the river. Lake Erie lies at the northern border of the State with many ports on its shore, and there are numerous canals and railroads, either finished or in course of construction. One of these canals, 334 miles in length, begins at Cleveland on the shore of Lake Erie, and runs through the middle of the State to Portsmouth on the banks of the Ohio; and another starts from Cincinnati and runs along the Miami to the north end of Lake Erie and the mouth of the Maumee River, 190 miles. This canal passes through a newly opened country, where the Welsh people are settling, namely: Putnam and Van Wert counties, and when completed, will be of no small convenience to the whole country.



The wild beasts have ceased to exist or retreated further west; there need be no fear of them nor of snakes. There are horses, cows, sheep, hogs, geese, ducks, and chickens as in this country. The surface is so level that it is easy to make canals and roads through it, and they increase as the inhabitants become more numerous. The conditions of the climate and weather are different from this country [Wales]; the heat is greater in Summer, and the cold in Winter; the Summer longer and the Winter shorter than here. The harvest is in June and July; the dry weather continues sometimes for two months without much rain. The Winter is dry and frosty with very little snow; few persons tie up their cattle, and they feed them outside.

In all countries mankind is exposed to accident, disease, and death, and are more likely to be in danger of them in a strange land owing to ignorance of the climate. Ohio is more healthy at present than a few years ago, yet it is not as healthy as mountainous old Wales. Strangers should avoid drinking very cold water in warm weather when over heated; they should accustom themselves to light weight clothing in summer and heavier in Winter; and be careful to wear suitable clothing morning and evening in hot weather; and they should not sit on the ground. The most common diseases are ague, bilious and intermittent fevers, pleurisy, rheumatism, and consumption.

In sickness neighbors are remarkably obliging and faithful, and doctors are easily secured. When death occurs, similar sympathy and kindness are shown. The deceased is buried the second day, and a crowd on foot, on horseback, and in vehicles, accompany him to the silent grave, in a simple and reverential manner. A religious service, suitable for the occasion, is performed. Very few mourning dresses are worn there.

The laws are remarkably good relating to the property of the deceased—justice for all according to the law of nature and reason. If a will has been made, it stands; if no will exists, the widow gets, during her lifetime, one-third part and the other two-thirds are divided equally between the children when the youngest becomes of age. Marriages are performed by preachers of the gospel or a Justice of peace, at the young woman's home, without distinction of time, either morning or evening. It is not customary for the parents to give their children much substance to begin life with; they give them a little to start with



and then they must struggle for themselves. This is a great blessing to the young people, and in accordance with the character of the commonwealth and the general principles of the Americans. It teaches them selfreliance, and not to depend upon others, and to use their possessions rightfully by learning their value.

From the nature of the government, the taxes are light. Little is needed for the expenses of the commonwealth. The greater portion of the taxes are levied for the making of canals and roads which are for the common benefit. The salary of our governor and the expense of the government last year, was only £35,000, which was collected from 1,500,000 inhabitants. All pay the tax according to their means; the farmer who has 300 acres of land, and a full stock, is assessed only £5, and a few days' work on the main road. There is also a small tax, proportionate to the property for the support of schools, and in this the rich help the poor to give their children education. If one has money at interest, one pound per cent must be paid in taxes, but from 6 to 12 pounds per cent is easily obtained on land, or on good security. One seldom hears of the poor-rate in Ohio, and as for the tithe it is not mentioned except in gratitude that there is no such oppressor amongst us. There are parishes [townships] in every county, and proper provision there for the poor, but such aid is seldom needed. Given health and industry all may obtain a sufficiency of all things necessary without asking for anything of the parish.

## GOVERNMENT.

In Ohio state laws are made by 36 Senators and 75 Representatives who are chosen by the people. The legislature sits annually for 2 or 3 months at Columbus, and every member receives 15 shillings a day for his own expenses. It is not the extent of their possessions that raises men to this council [legislature], but their qualifications; nor is it one great man favoring another, but the free choice of every citizen, poor and rich alike. The Governor of Ohio is chosen in the same way every other year, and he receives £300 yearly. The whole expense of the government of Ohio, notwithstanding its size and population,



is not greater than the expense of some gentleman's estate in this country, which accounts for the taxes being so low. All are entitled and are given opportunity to secure their lawful rights, as there is a justice of the peace in every parish and a civil court held quarterly in every county, to try offenders and to adjust other cases. Trials are held before the judge and jury as in this country, and ample justice is administered.

### SCHOOLS.

The liberality of the government has set open the door for all, without distinction, to obtain the necessary education to make them fit citizens of a free government, and to engage in every ordinary trade. It is upon the knowledge and morality of the populace that the pillars of the government stand. If ignorance and ungodliness reign, then tumult and disorder will come instead of prosperity and peace, therefore the whole country endeavors to give the young people an education, and while the effort for education and good morals continues, civil and religious liberty in the United States will remain firm and immovable.

There are in Ohio 1280 parishes [townships] containing 7500 schools already, which are under the auspices of the government. The money comes from the land, and the tax is evenly divided in every parish, according to the number of children. In our parish there are nine schoolhouses with 756 youths, between 4 and 20 years old, in attendance and instruction is given in each school the greater part of the year. A good, learned, and dilligent male teacher gets from 4 to 6 pounds a month; competent female teachers, from 3 to 4 pounds a month, without board. There are many academies in Ohio where men and women may receive a more extended education than in the common schools; several of these are controlled by various religious sects, and two Universities are under the authority of the government. In these schools there is room for all who have money sufficient for the expense, namely: 30 to 50 pounds per year; when students have been there four years they receive the degree of A. B., and if 7 years, they get the degree of A. M. I judge there are in these colleges at present from 800 to 1000 students, and the number continually increases.





It is the boast of the United States that religion prospers without the help of civil institutions; that chapels are built and ministers sustained without a church rate or tithe, but by the free and voluntary contributions of the people. Certainly there are not enough preachers or chapels to answer the demands of the inhabitants, and there is much ungodliness lifting high its head, yet the progress of religion, the unity and brotherliness of the different denominations, give room to expect that before long the fair valleys of the West will be as the garden of the Lord. Many religious publications (in English) are issued weekly and monthly; the word of God; and other beneficial books are spreading all over the country. The most numerous of the religious sects in Ohio, are the Wesleyan Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, Independents, Episcopalians, Dutch Reform, Lutheran, and the Papists, although there are other religious denominations, as Shakers, Quakers, Campbellites, Universalists, if they be worthy to be called religious denominations. Many churches are weak and find it difficult to maintain ministers, but if help be needed, the different denominations have societies for the support of faithful ministers in their churches, and in a few years, by the blessing of God, they will be able to support their own minister, unaided by the societies, and in their turn contribute to the necessities of weaker churches. The Sunday Schools, Temperance Societies, Bible Tracts, and Antislavery, are warmly supported, and thus are doing good.



### CHAPTER III.

#### THE HISTORY OF PADDY'S RUN.

This is the oldest Welsh settlement in Ohio and is situated 20 miles from Cincinnati, in Butler County. It is said that this Irish name was given the settlement because an Irishman, whilst fighting the Indians, fell into a brook that runs through the valley, and was nearly drowned, and in consequence, the brook and valley were called *Paddy's Run*.

Ezekiel Hughes, Edward Bebb, John Roberts, and Ann Rowlands (the first Welshwoman who went into the Ohio country), of Llanbryn-mair; William and Morgan Gwilym, of Llangiwc, Glamorgan, left Wales, August 4, 1795, for this place. They had many trials and difficulties during the first years here and were obliged to labor unceasingly in the wilderness, but it is probable that they and those who followed soon after, secured much better land than the Welsh families who emigrated later. This valley has excellent soil, and the hills are full of trees and stone. Nearly every farm contains land both flat and hilly. The soil is suitable for all kinds of corn, but especially for Indian corn. The farmers are chiefly employed in raising Indian corn and in fattening hogs; some of them from 40 to 150 hogs a year, according to the size and quality of their farms. There are many fields from 10 to 25 acres in extent which produce Indian corn for 30 to 40 years without manure or rest. The soil of the hills is better than that of the plains for wheat, oats, and potatoes. This locality is one of the healthiest in the state and has been so from its settlement.

There are only about 200 to 250 Welsh people in this place, and nearly all of them farmers who own their farms, containing from 80 to 400 acres, on which is an abundance of wood for kindling and fences. The land is dear and difficult to find for sale; and this is the reason why the Welsh do not become more numerous here. The farms are worth from 6 to 18 pounds an acre; are rented for one pound to thirty shillings a year. Men-



servants get from 25 to 36 pounds a year, and the maidservants from 15 to 20. The produce of the soil and of cattle is easily sold at good prices.

In 1804 a church was established here by the Independents, although there were only 5 of them—Welsh and English. In 1817 preaching in Welsh was first begun here by the late Rev. Rees Lloyd, and one of the small number who started the cause is Mrs. Bebb (a sister of the late Rev. J. Roberts of Llambyn-mair) who is still living in this place, and is a beautiful ornament to the cause. May 26, 1836 there was set apart to the full work of the ministry, the Rev. B. W. Chidlaw, A. M. of the Miami university, who is a native of Bala, Merioneth, but reared in Ohio. He began his ministry in this settlement, there were 25 to 30 members only, and hearers were few, but now there are over 100 members, and great progress is shown in every part of the work.

### RADNOR.

This is the name of a settlement in Delaware county, on the Scioto river, 32 miles from Columbus and 8 miles from the town of Delaware. The land is flat and low, the soil good, but somewhat damp. The settlement was begun here in 1804. I heard some of the old settlers describe their beginning here in the woods, with no mechanics, stores, mills, or chapels; their clothes and food were the fruit of the labor of their own hands. But ere long, after many efforts, the shapeless forest became a pleasant home for them and their children. There are more Welsh people here than in any other place in Ohio. The soil is suitable for raising all kinds of corn, and is excellent for hay and pasture. A farm may be bought, with a portion of it cleared, and having a house and barn upon it, for about 4 to 6 pounds per acre; wild land for one half or less. It would be better for strangers to buy a farm already cleared if not familiar with that process, so that they may derive a livelihood from it forthwith. Most of these Welsh people are from the counties of Montgomery and Brecknock.

There are plenty of schools within the reach of all the inhabitants, with every advantage for the education of children. Good prices are obtainable in the markets for all that is for sale. The different religious denominations have churches and chapels.



Recently there has been a great revival here amongst the Independents; their minister is the Rev. R. Powell.

The Welsh Baptists and Wesleyans have united with the English, although there are Welsh preachers among them, namely, the Rev. D. Cadwalader and Elias George. This is a good place for farmers to breed stock, raise corn, and make butter and cheese, as lands are easy to obtain and the markets are accessible.

### NEWARK AND THE WELSH HILLS.

Newark is a very thriving town on the bank of the canal which leads from Lake Erie to the Ohio River. Many Welsh dwell here and live very comfortably. To the north-west from here lies the Welsh Hills where some hundreds of the Welsh people dwell. This country is pretty open and healthy, with an abundance of running water in it.

The settlement was commenced by Theophilus Rees and others in 1803, and a religious cause was raised by the Baptists, which is prospering under the ministry of the Rev. Thomas Hughes. In 1832, the Independents and the Calvinistic Methodists joined together to raise a religious cause, and to build a chapel—success follows their efforts—the Rev. W. Parry (a Calvinist) labours amongst them and in the surrounding districts where any Welsh people dwell. The people generally are farmers. The land is high priced, that is, from 5 to 10 pounds an acre, and hard to get. In thinking of the present circumstances of the Welsh people in Ohio, who have lived soberly, industriously, and strivingly, I am impressed with the improvement in their condition; they have great cause to give thanks for God's tenderness toward them. Many of those who started without anything, now own farms of good land, with prospects of a comfortable living.

### COLUMBUS.

While only a few Welsh families are settled in Columbus, there are many of the young people of Wales here in service, and they continue to come as there is plenty of work for all and good wages; menservants receive 3 to 5 pounds a month, and the maidservants from 7 to 10 shillings a week; mechanics, according to their work and skill, 4s. 6d. to 6s. a day, and their





food. The Independents and Baptists have a cause here, but it is rather feeble, and the preaching is in Welsh.

### CINCINNATI.

The same thing may be said of this city that is said of Columbus except that many more Welsh people live here. The only difficulty that strangers have to face in coming to a place like this is to find work and a home at the outstart, but having obtained a situation, and showing themselves worthy and faithful, they need not fear any more.

The great works in this city give all craftsmen an opportunity, with high wages, according to the work, namely from 6 to 8 shillings a day. They get board and lodging for 10 to 16s. a week. Steamboats are built here and spacious houses; 400 brick houses were built last year, and the city is making steady progress. There are places of worship here belonging to the Welsh people. Some of the young people, namely: mechanics, having saved a little money, buy lands with the same in a new country and go there to live; others remain and follow their occupations in the city. A number of Welsh families live in Newport and Covington, Kentucky, on the other side of the Ohio, where there are iron works, in which they find employment.

### OWL CREEK.

This is the name also of a river in Knox County, and the settlement is 36 miles from Columbus, where several Welsh families live. The farmers here are doing well; the land though somewhat low, brings forth much corn and hay, and there is a good market for the produce of the soil. The Baptists have a cause here, with 110 members, and a commodious chapel; their minister is the Rev. John Thomas, who preaches in Welsh and English. The price of land has gone up lately and there is but little woodland to be had.

### PALMYRA.

A parish in Portage county, 40 miles from Lake Erie and 22 from the Ohio canal. The Welsh did not begin here when it was a wilderness, but they bought their land at second hand.



At that time they only gave from 1 to 3 pounds an acre for it; but now it is worth from 3 to 8 pounds.

The first Welshman who came here was John Davies, in 1829. The quality of the soil is not as good as that of many other settlements, but its proximity to the canal and Lake Erie make it very convenient. The different Welsh religious denominations have houses of worship and churches here, and their cause is progressing.

### GALLIA AND JACKSON.

In these counties many Welsh people have settled recently, locating 20 to 30 miles from the Ohio river; the soil is clay and remarkably broken and is the poorest land and soil that the Welsh have chosen in Ohio. Hundreds have come here from Cardigan-shire within the last years, but it would have been much better for them to have gone 1000 miles further toward the Mississippi to find land worth cultivating. There is plenty of coal and stone in the hills; but a poverty of corn and pasture. Although the land is not flat and rich, it is a very healthy place, and the inhabitants make a comfortable living.

### PUTNAM AND VAN WERT.

Seven years ago the Indians owned and inhabited these counties in the northwest corner of the State. They sold the land to the government, and after surveying it, the government offered the land to whoever wished to buy at 6 shillings and 9 pence per acre. Now it has begun to be opened up and it is easy to obtain a farm with house and from 10 to 30 acres of cleared land for from 2 to 4 pounds an acre. Farms contain generally from 80 to 320 or 640 acres, and some Welsh farmers have bought 800 to 1600 acres. The Maumee river runs through this section to the north end of Lake Erie, and a canal is being built through from Cincinnati to Lake Erie. The land is wooded and the soil coarse, and the plains somewhat wet.

In 1834 several Welsh families left the Paddy's Run settlement to begin in this locality, and after much toil and many hardships, they now have open farms and a sufficiency of everything for their comfort at their command. At present there are from 40 to 50 Welsh families here and many more are continually



coming. Land is growing higher in price and there is not much government land to be had, but there is good soil to be purchased at second hand either cleared or partly so, for 15 shillings to 2 pounds an acre. Here are good opportunities for buying land to hold until the price increases, or to live upon. There is no tax on government land for five years after making entry, and there is no expense in allowing it to stand, and it will surely double in value during the five years. As the land is low in price and the canals convenient there will probably be more Welshmen here soon than in any other part of Ohio. Some government land remains unsold but not of the best grade. It is easy to obtain farms which have been slightly improved and if strangers can do so, it is the best to buy. There are many religious people here but as the country is so new, neither churches or houses of worship have been built. The Independents have a preacher here and they are preparing to establish a cause.

### UTICA.

In this city, containing 11000 inhabitants, large numbers of Welshmen live, and they appear comfortable and prosperous; commendable citizens; and industrious and useful in their occupations. Those in the city are merchants, mechanics, and in service, while in the country around, they are farmers and dairy-men. This city is on a low bank of the Mohawk River, in a valley that has good soil, but the farming section is further from the river and is uneven and not very fertile; it is better for meadows and pastures than for corn. The Welsh began to settle here in 1800. It was the Welsh Independents who opened the first house of worship in this city in the year 1802, when they numbered only thirteen; now they own a beautiful, spacious brick chapel, with a membership of 250, who are under the ministry of the Rev. J. Griffiths. The Baptists have a cause here commenced in 1803, which has a large and increasing congregation. The Calvinistic Methodists have a brick chapel, with many adherents, and the cause is faithfully supported by them. The above mentioned denominations have schools and Welsh preaching every Sunday. It was a pleasure to me to see my fellow-countrymen in a distant land, enjoying such religious and temporal privileges.



The summer season is very pleasant here but the winter is cold and long, with snow upon the ground for four months. Land is dear and hard to secure; there is a better opening for mechanics and servants than for farmers. The demand is great for both mechanics and servants; the wages of the mechanic is 4s. 6d. per day and their food; servants from 6s. to 10s. a week. Clothes are much dearer here than in Wales.

#### DEERFIELD.

This is the name of a village a little north of Utica, where many Welsh people live, and most of them own land, make cheese, butter, etc., and live very comfortably. The land is broken [uneven], the soil middling good, and is largely populated. There is little woodland except that which belongs to the cleared farms. The different religious denominations have chapels, and preaching in English. The Rev. J. Griffiths, Utica, is the Independent minister here, and the members number 50 or 60; their chapel is of wood.

#### FFLOYD.

A town 12 miles from Utica, where many Welsh people live. They are mostly farmers, industrious and striving in the things that pertain to this life and to that which is to be. There are two Welsh chapels here, one belongs to the Calvinistic Methodists, and the other to the Independents; the latter's chapel is called Bethesda; the members are from 40 to 50, and are under the ministry of the Rev. Hugh Lewis.

#### STEUBEN.

This is the name of a town 20 miles north of Utica, whose inhabitants generally are descendants of Gomer. While at an Association here, I looked at the large and cheerful assembled crowd, with their ruddy, healthy complexions, and then at the green hills around, and I almost thought I had reached the land of Gwalia [Wales].

As a rule the farmers live on their own land. They do not raise much corn for their lands are usually meadows and pastures. The cheese and butter of these districts have a great





reputation far and near. They keep the butter in tubs holding 100 to 120 pounds each, and sell it in the Fall at Utica, for from 9d. to a shilling a pound; from there it is sent on the canal to New York. The farmers keep from 10 to 40 milch cows, according to the size of their farms. The dogs churn the cream with a machine which may be seen in every house, and saves the women much labor. It costs but little, about two or three pounds. The families that have been years in this country, have prospered greatly in the world, both they and their children own land and live in the enjoyment of every blessing necessary to make life pleasant. Another town, called Remsen, to the east from here, is peopled by Welshmen and is similar to Steuben as to the land and opportunities.

The most uncomfortable things in this locality are the cold weather and the great snows in winter, which lasts from four to five months. This section is healthier than the Welsh settlements in Ohio; the soil is not as fertile, nor are the seasons of the year as comfortable. In Ohio few persons tie up [house] their cattle in winter, but here they are cared for as in Wales. There is plenty of work to be had here in summer but not so much in winter. Men-servants get from twenty to thirty pounds a year, and women from ten to fifteen pounds. Land is very difficult to secure here. The farms which have been cleared and have good buildings on them, are from 8 to 12 pounds an acre. Good buildings are to be seen on every farm and good locations for mills, etc., and the markets are very convenient.

Religion and temperance thrive in these districts. The Independents have two commodious chapels; in one there are 220 members, and in the other 50, under the ministry of the Rev. R. Everett.

In Remsen they have two chapels, one has 150 members under the ministry of the Rev. Morris Roberts. Last year the Independents had a great and powerful revival and the work continues to prosper. They have schoolhouses and other places in which to preach besides the chapels. The Sunday School and the religious societies, Home and Foreign, receive their help. The Baptist church flourishes in this region; they have four places of worship:—Bethesda, where there are 110 members; the Bridge Chapel, 46 members—both under the ministry of the Rev. Jesse Jones; Bethel in Remsen, 50 members under the ministry of the



Rev. David Michael; South Trenton Chapel, under the charge of the Rev. J. Richards. I failed to find out about the preachers and members of the Calvinistic Methodists; they have five places of worship in the different Welsh localities. The Wesleyans have one chapel and nearly 100 members; the Rev. J. Jones ministers to them. There is every religious opportunity, and good schools for children in these settlements. Although the soil is not as level and rich as that in Ohio, the thousands of Welsh inhabitants who have made their homes in this locality have the appearance of living in comfort.

### NEW YORK CITY.

Very many Welsh people live here; but not as many families as there are young people. Many have been obliged to remain for lack of money to go farther, but when they become able they move toward the west. The generality of those who are here, are artizans and tradesmen, and those who are active, striving, and sober, look fine, have plenty of work, and good wages. It is somewhat difficult for strangers to obtain work at first, but once started and proved to be acceptable, there need be no fear for the future.

The Independents have a commodious chapel here, and a large congregation under the ministry of the Rev. J. S. Jones. The Baptists and Calvinistic Methodists also have Welsh places of worship here. As a rule it is better, if possible, for strangers to go to the country than to stay in the seaside cities, especially those who have families.

### PITTSBURG.

This city is frequently spoken of as the "Birmingham" of this country, as the principal works here are coal, iron, and glass. Several thousand Welshmen, from south Wales, are settled in and around this city. They seem to be doing well, although drunkenness destroys many here as in Britain. The Independents have a large congregation and a flourishing cause, under the ministry of the Rev. Thomas Edwards. The Baptists and Calvinistic Methodists have Welsh churches also.



## EBENSBURG.

The heights of the Allegheny mountains form the dwelling place of many Welsh. This settlement was started in 1796, and as the soil is rather poor and the country mountainous, there is little progress shown. It is very like Wales but more largely wooded, is healthy and pleasant in summer. They do not raise many crops but they keep cows and make butter and cheese. The Independents have a Welsh cause here, and places of worship in the town and country, under the ministry of the Rev. W. Williams. The Rev. George Roberts labored faithfully here for many years, until old age somewhat unfitted him for the work, and he is now ending his useful life respected by the world and the church. We hope the sun of his life may go down painlessly to shine forever in the regions of immortality.

The Baptists have a church and a minister here, though some of them have become followers of Alexander Campbell.

## POTTSVILLE.

Pottsville is in the eastern part of the state of Pennsylvania. There are here, and in Minersville and in Corbendale, many coal and iron works. There are no farmers in this town, only workmen, and most of them hail from South Wales. The Welsh have three places of worship, with hard working ministers. The Rev. Evan B. Evans labors acceptably and successfully among the Independents.

It is not easy to ascertain the strength of the various religious denominations [of the Welsh settlements?] in the United States, but, as nearly as we can make out, they are somewhat as follows:

Independents . . . . .	16	Churches	15	Ministers
Baptists . . . . .	13	"	9	"
Calv. Methodists . . . .	12	"	10	"
Wesleyans . . . . .	3	"	3	"
Church of England . . .	2	"	1	"



## CHAPTER IV.

It is a serious and solemn thing to leave the land of our birth, our home, and our friends—to travel thousands of miles over sea and land, and to be aliens in a distant and strange country. It is very unwise for any one to thoughtlessly or ignorantly face an unaccustomed and long journey; it is necessary to seek direction of the Lord, and seriously consider the subject before starting.

Many of the inhabitants of Wales have gone to America greatly to their own and their descendants' benefit; have exchanged poverty for an abundance of all the blessings that makes life pleasant, but not without many difficulties and many untiring struggles. Others by changing countries have made their conditions worse and all their pleasant anticipations proved disappointing and heart-breaking to them.

America is so extensive and has such a variety of soil and advantages, and the Welsh settlements are so unlike one another, that a true description of one part or settlement, will not answer for all. As there is a great difference between the valleys on the banks of the Severn and the mountainous country of Merioneth, even so, in the United States, and the Welsh settlements east and west.

Men and families who live comfortably, with the prospect of a similar condition for their children after them, need not move away from their native land, for they can expect nothing better in any other land. A life of ease and wealth, with idleness and drinking, need not be expected to be secured by going to America. Be it remembered that there is there no secure shelter for those who flee from the grip of the civil law, and they may rest assured that their sins will find them out. Then do not flee from sorrow, struggle, and labor here, in order to secure better opportunities to labor than are common in this country, unless you have courage and determination to make use of the same. I should advise those unaccustomed to work, and who have not much inclination to do it, not to cross the great deep. Application and diligence are the characteristics of all who succeed in America, and they alone have





a right to expect comfort and prosperity in their affairs. Although the wages are high there, it is not a good place to live by the labor of other people when you do nothing yourself. Every Freeholder there, if well, and is a farmer, tills the soil, cares for and cultivates his own farm. The children are taught to labor and so by the efforts of parents and children, the land increases in value. "The desire of the slothful killeth him; for his hands refuse to labor: but the hand of the dilligent maketh rich." Some persons go to America, expecting that everything will come to them, expecting naught but continuous prosperity and enjoyment, but unquestionably they will be greatly disappointed in this. It behooves no one to go there who "err through wine, and are out of the way [disabled?] through strong drink"; for they may as well have shame, contempt, and the life and grave of a drunkard here as there, and any one who thinks of spending his time in idleness and drinking need not expect either comfort or success in the land where intoxicating drinks are so cheap and plentiful. I desire everyone who would set his face toward America, to be in principle and practice a total abstainer from all kinds of intoxicating drinks, as they are of no benefit to the country and a great evil to other men. People who have reached a great age and are feeble, I counsel, with a view to their personal comfort, to remain in the land of their birth, but if they desire to benefit their children at the sacrifice of their own comfort by changing their country, then they had better go with their family to America, for it would be a great blessing to their posterity. But now, who is likely to improve his circumstances by changing countries? I cannot say positively and infallibly, as that, under God's blessing, depends upon themselves, but I can say this, that to go into a goodly land *will not alone* make one rich or comfortable. Emigrants must expect to face some hardships and endure many privations at first, and must labor dilligently, otherwise they will be in the same condition in which they were before starting. Parents who are bringing up families and have some property, but are almost unable to pay their way in spite of every effort, should go to America, where they would, doubtless, ere long see a great change for the better in their circumstances, and there secure a better place in which, after their labor and effort, to enjoy their reward. Many difficulties overtake strangers in a distant land—unfamiliarity with the work



and speech of the place; sometimes sickness and disappointment, but for all this, having endured and striven untiringly, there will be for the family a better recompense, and in a year's time, they may rejoice that God's smile is upon them, and that they are far out of the reach of the *House of Industry*, and that they have a comfortable home with the prospect of a similar heritage for their children, long after they themselves have passed to another world.

Young people, sober, industrious, and faithful; maidservants and menservants; together with ordinary mechanics, active and skillful, are the fit persons to go to America. The cost of clothing is much greater there than here, yet, if they are thrifty, they can save much out of their earnings. Far away in the West, in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and the new states of Iowa and Wisconsin, is found the best land for the least money.

A great many persons delay changing their home and country until their property is almost exhausted and they have scarcely enough for the journey. These are obliged to remain in the old settled states or begin in the newer states under many disadvantages. It is pretty hard for a family to begin with small means in a strange land, but I can say that many who have set their feet upon American soil without anything, are now in easy circumstances, having made by their industry a comfortable position. Still all are not so situated.

Thousands of the old Welsh people have found the United States a goodly land, and their children will have reason to be constantly grateful for their fathers' bravery in facing the rough waves and the dangers of settling in a foreign country, in order to hand down to them a comfortable heritage and the enjoyment of the human right to judge for themselves in civil and religious matters. Those who have been in America and return to their native country, rarely chose to remain, but are drawn back to live and die under the shadow of the branches of the *Tree of Liberty*.

Many opportunities are afforded young people, who are willing to work, to acquire property. If they have money, good interest may be obtained, or uncultivated land may be purchased in the new States, and held for awhile until it becomes more valuable. The tendency of the Welsh is to stay in the old settlements or to select high and broken land, but having left their



old homes and the religious advantages that were theirs, it is much better for them to endeavor to secure a place where the soil is fertile, and where the land will increase in value. Religious privileges will soon follow them. If they keep with the ark personally and as families, the means of grace will soon be within their reach. In the old settlements there is not much government land unsold and the price of that is 6s. 6d. an acre; but there is plenty further west which is very advantageous to purchase with the intention of having farms later on, or of selling them again after the value has increased.

When on the sea, I heard an old Saxon (Englishman), who being disappointed in America, was returning to England, state his objections to the former country as follows:—1. That there was too much equality there between the servant and his master, the two working together, eating together, and associating together—even the daughter of an *Independent Freeholder* leaving the dinner table to make room for a manservant: “Was there ever such a thing? I could not stand it!” 2. A *Gentleman Farmer* can not live in America, every one works there, if not there is no success. My way is to watch and drive my servants and not exert myself, but that will not do there and I can not stoop to do otherwise. 3. Persons who wish to enjoy life indolently, drinking, hunting, and horse racing, with a merry company, do not receive the respect due them although they have plenty of money, nor are there opportunities for such a merry life. 4. Their beer and spirits are not as good!! It must be admitted that there was much truth in his objections, yet I wish there were more of just such objections. As I listened to this man I feared that he was on the road to end his days within the walls of the *House of Industry* rather than as a *Gentleman Farmer*. He is a good specimen of those who are unfit to go to America, for such will either be unhappy there or return home disappointed. Those who expect to taste the bitter as well as the sweet wine are the persons qualified to undertake life in that country and they will not be disappointed in the result. In going to America there are many difficulties to overcome—leaving one’s native land, traveling over the sea, learning a new language, new customs,—in a word, to go to America, is a revolution in a man’s life.

Few things pay for the expense and trouble of carrying them over the sea to America, as they are as low-priced and as easily



obtained there as here. Made cloth and linen garmens; beds (ready for the journey) and a few other small things, are worth carrying so far. It would be well to place a cover of rough linen over the beds to preserve them during the journey. Necessary utensils for the journey, and instructions as to what may be necessary, can be had in Liverpool. Travellers have frequent hindrance and inconvenience by a quantity of luggage so the less the better. All kinds of clothing, earthenware, knives and forks, are much dearer there than here. Nothing can be taken there, except what the family needs, without paying a duty thereon. Usually, I find that money is better than much luggage, after reaching American soil. If you have English gold (Sovereigns) your money need not be changed, as they are used throughout the United States. After arriving in Liverpool, it is wise for families to take a room where they can live, feeding themselves until the ship is ready to start. Liverpool is the most desirable place to embark as there are ships leaving weekly and sometimes daily, which gives an opportunity for choice.

In large towns travellers will meet all kinds of men, some may appear in the guise of friends, who seem ready to aid them by engaging a vessel and preparing food for them, but great care must be taken not to believe all that is said. It is best to look out and speak for oneself when taking a ship. The help of a trustworthy man, familiar with ships and the preparation needed for such a journey, would be very desirable and beneficial, but all should be careful lest they be misled or deceived. The best sign that a ship is about to sail immediately is that it is loaded, and not fair words about starting. Look at the cargo. That is the surest way to learn if she is about to spread her sails. Some persons, after engaging passage in a ship, have been compelled to remain in Liverpool for a long time before starting owing to the ship's failure to leave at the time agreed upon, so it is wiser for passengers to require a written agreement, bearing a promise of a certain amount per day paid them for each day they are forced to wait for the ship beyond a stated time. The fare for passage in the Steerage is from 4 to 5 pounds; in the Cabin, 25 lbs. You can go with a good, fast Merchantman for from 3 to 4 pounds in the Steerage; in the Cabin, for 15 to 20 pounds. The American ships greatly excel the British ones going there, and they are to be had constantly in Liverpool. Packets always leave





the port on the appointed day, weather permitting, but the others are less reliable. After engaging a ship it is well to have everything on board in good time; to place the luggage and food securely before starting so that nothing may be loose to be thrown about hither and thither when on the sea. The Welsh should prepare bread, oatmeal, butter, cheese, and meat before leaving home; this is the most wholesome food and best for the journey. Tea, coffee, sugar, treacle, salt, etc., may be had in Liverpool. These are the necessary articles, although all may take what they wish. Food must be provided for 6 or 8 weeks, and it is better to supply too much than not enough, besides any remainder will be useful after reaching New York. After arriving in that city it is much safer for strangers to follow their usual mode of living for a time so that they may continue healthy. There is no need of liquor on the voyage. If required as medicine it can be had of the Captain. In order to be well on the sea live temperately—a little Epsom salts or Rhubarb will be beneficial sometimes. Low-spiritedness, lethargy, and indolence cause one-half the sea-sickness, and the best doctor for preventing it, is to go on deck, walk about, and converse cheerfully with one another. This will also cure it.

At sea everyone should endeavor to bear with one another, be affectionately disposed to help, so that the journey may be pleasant, and all part in peace. And if you remain in port, having reached land, you had better try to obtain work at once; be careful of your health; your character; and your success, and avoid idling, drinking and unruly company. These are what have injured hundreds of men after reaching America. There are good places for men-servants, maid-servants, and artisans, in the large cities; a better place for families is in the country or in villages.

## INSTRUCTIONS FOR TRAVEL WEST FROM NEW YORK.

Listen not to directions from strangers here any more than in Liverpool; many persons will be ready to give advice, but it will be far wiser for you to be watchful and use your own judgment. There are Offices in New York where information may be had in regard to journeying west, upon which you may



rely. If you wish to go to Utica or the northern part of Ohio, inquire from where the steamboats start for Albany; from there and other more western points, directions can easily be secured. Since American money is current here, I will state in dollars—each dollar equivalent to 4s. 6d.—the expense of various journeys:

From New York to Albany, 160 miles (steamboat) ..	2	dollars.
From Albany to Utica, 110 miles (canal) .....	1½	do.
From Utica to Buffalo, 154 miles (canal) .....	3¾	do.
From Buffalo to Cleveland, 193 miles (steamboat) ..	2½	do.
From Cleveland to Newark, 171 miles (canal) .....	2	do.
From Newark to Columbus, 40 miles (canal) .....	¾	do.
From Columbus to Ohio River, <sup>4</sup> 82 miles (canal) ...	1¼	do.
From Ohio River <sup>5</sup> to Cincinnati, 100 miles (steam- boat) .....	1	do.
The entire journey, 1100 miles;		
The entire cost, 14¾ dollars.		

Be it known to all that they can not have their food and passage at the above prices, but only their beds and passage. If cabin passage is taken the cost will be 42 to 50 dollars. Given the usual facility the above journey is made in from 15 to 18 days. To reach Putnam and Van Wert counties, in Ohio, go from Cleveland to Perrysburg on the Maumee river, and thence to Kalida or Lima, in wagons.

Another route to Cincinnati is through Pennsylvania:

From New York to Philadelphia, 100 miles (steam- boat) .....	1½	dollars.
From Philadelphia to Columbia, 81 miles (Railroad)	1½	do.
From Columbia to Pittsburg, 313 miles (canal) .....	4½	do.
From Pittsburg to Cincinnati, 500 miles (steamboat)	3	do.
The entire journey, 994 miles; entire cost, 10½ dollars.		
The cabin passage from 40 to 50 dollars.		

The journey is accomplished in ten or twelve days. It will be necessary to pay for luggage by the hundred weight if over forty pounds.

Those who wish to go to Palmyra should leave the canal at Akron, 39 miles from Cleveland; if to Radnor, leave the canal at Columbus; if to Ebensburg, leave the canal at Johnston, 285

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<sup>4—5</sup> At Portsmouth, the terminus of the Ohio Canal.



miles from Philadelphia; if to Gallia or Jackson, leave the Ohio river at Gallipolis, 270 miles from Pittsburg. You can go on this route to Cincinnati from Gallipolis by the Ohio river, and thence north by canal to Piqua, 90 miles; and from thence, 40 or 50 miles to Putnam and Van Wert Counties, in a wagon. If you are going to Indiana or Illinois it is best to go down the Ohio river; if to Wisconsin or Iowa down the Ohio to Indiana and thence onward.

Let all travellers be very careful not to drink cold water when perspiring, nor remain out in the night air. Eat wholesome food with regularity so as to avoid sickness. After arriving at your journey's end listen to the advice of friends who have long been there, as it may be very helpful in your first venture. If you have money buy land that has been cleared, if not, purchase from 20 to 40 acres of forest land and dry the trees by cutting the bark and allowing them to so stand for three years, when it would be easier to clear them off. During those years it might be well to rent land and raise stock on it. Strangers should never attempt to open up forest land immediately as it requires much more work before the trees are properly dried or withered.

### MISSISSIPPI VALLEY.

This is the name given to that portion of the United States that is watered by the Mississippi river and its various tributaries. It lies between the Allegheny and Rocky Mountains; extends 1400 miles from north to south, and 1500 miles from east to west; comprising 833,000,000 acres of land. This extensive valley consists of the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Michigan, Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, Iowa, and Wisconsin, together, with a large tract in the possession of the Indians.

In the year 1790 there were only 100,000 white people in this valley but at present they number over 7,000,000. It is supposed that no other part of the world contains such an extent of good and fertile land as this. Every part of the valley is watered by large and navigable rivers. No mountains are seen, and the land, though here and there hilly, is generally level and well adapted for canals and roads. It is divided into parts, the Lower and Upper valley; the former is in the southland below the point



where the Ohio river flows into the Mississippi, and includes seven States: Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Missouri, in which the principal products are cotton, sugar, tobacco, and rice. Slavery flourishes here. The land is flat and exceedingly rich and fertile. Its rivers are the Mississippi, Missouri, Red, Cumberland, Arkansas, Yazoo, Jabine, Alabama, Ossage, etc. The Mississippi river is considered one of the principal rivers of the world; it carries all the waters that flow through this enormous valley to the sea. Rising in Upper Red Cedar Lake it empties into the Gulf of Mexico, a distance of about three thousand miles. Its width opposite the Missouri river is from 2000 to 2500 yards. In New Orleans and below, it is about 120 feet deep. It is greatly flooded two or three times a year, usually in January and the first week of July when the width of the river at New Orleans is from 80 to 100 miles.

The Upper Valley comprises six states, namely: Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Iowa, and Wisconsin. There are no slaves here—all are free—and a great blessing it is to the commonwealth generally, for the free States are much more progressive in every way than the slave States. The soil is good and bears fine crops of Indian corn, wheat, barley, rye, oats, potatoes, &c. Its rivers are the Ohio, Wabash, Illinois, Rock, Kaskaskia, Miami, Scioto, Muskingum, &c. The climate here is more temperate and healthy than in the lower valley. Coal, lead, salt and iron abound in many places. In Illinois and Missouri there are extensive lead works; and iron, coal, and salt predominate in Ohio.

In such an enormous valley as this, the climate varies—hot and cold—wet and dry—healthy and unhealthy. In the Lower Valley the summers are hot and the winters moderate with little ice or snow, almost continual Spring and Summer weather. In Ohio, Indiana, etc. it is more temperate in summer but colder in winter; the seasons number four as in this country, but the summer is warmer and of longer duration while the winter is shorter. The extremely hot weather lasts only a few days, and the same may be said of the coldest weather. In the Cincinnati section, I have seen many winters with scarcely enough snow to cover the ground. The Ohio river freezes every year; the Mississippi never. Cattle are seldom seen under cover and are usually fed outside all the year.





There is a marked difference between the inhabitants of these two valleys. In the lower valley slave trade is carried on, and the slaves do all the labor. The property owners are indolent, proud, lovers of vanities, not very moral, and are frequently without the fear of God. While the characteristics of the inhabitants of the upper valley are generally the opposite.

# ENGLYN.

Teithiaf—hwyliaf fôr heli—ar antur—

Mi w'rantaſ rhag siomi ;

Caf yno waith maith i mi,

Ac ARIAN sy'n rhagori.—

MERVINIAN.

\*

I will travel—I will sail over

the salt sea—on an adventure

I'll warrant against disappointment,

I shall there find ample work

And excellent Money.

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\* A free translation of the Englyn, one of the twenty-four authorized poetical metres in the Welsh language.



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Arranged and Edited by

ISAAC JOSLIN COX,

Assistant Professor of History, University of Cincinnati.

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# Selections from the Torrence Papers, VI

EARLY COMMERCIAL CONDITIONS IN THE WEST AS  
ILLUSTRATED BY THE SLOO LETTERS.

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## FOREWORD.

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While the bulk of the Torrence Collection is made up of papers belonging to General James Findlay and Judge George P. Torrence, there are also sundry letters written by and to other prominent men of this section. Among these latter the most important group in number and in interest is composed of the letters of Thomas Sloo, Jr. The present number of the *QUARTERLY* and that to follow will be made up from these.

The letters of this number treat of three factors of considerable importance in western commercial history: the Miami Exporting Company and allied organizations of Cincinnati, the Second United States Branch Bank of Cincinnati, and the Illinois-Michigan Canal. It will be noticed that Mr. Sloo occupied a prominent position in each of them, and while the letters do not add much to our knowledge of these enterprises, they serve to give a certain local color to their affairs.

Thomas Sloo, Jr., represents the second generation of men prominent in western history—a generation native to the soil. His career is also typical of the interlacing of the early history of the Mississippi Valley, for he was born in Kentucky and was at times prominent in the history of three other states—Ohio, Illinois, and Louisiana. He had close personal and business relationship with those who were its leaders from the period of the Revolution to the close of the Civil War, and seems always to have been held in high esteem by men of all classes and conditions of life and political faith. His military career was practically *nil*, but in both business and politics, he occupied a prominent position, just narrowly missing eminence in both. The chief events of his career have been summarized in a paper by Dr. John F. Snyder—"Forgotten Statesmen of Illinois"—published in the *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the year*





1903 and in a paper by the present editor, "Thomas Sloo, Jr., a Typical Statesman of Early Illinois," to appear in a forth coming volume of the same publication.

In the preparation of this material for publication I desire to acknowledge the personal courtesies and assistance of Mr. Thomas Sloo, of New Orleans, of Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber of Springfield, Ill., of Dr. John F. Snyder of Virginia, Ill., and of Miss H. Dora Stecker and Miss L. Belle Hamlin.

I. J. C.



## I

THOMAS SLOO, JR. TO MRS. JANE FINDLAY  
[Box 21, No. 36.]

Cincinnati 19th Aug[ust] 1812

Dear Madam

Knowing, that you feel a great anxiety to hear, of every movement, and transaction of our northern army; I have embraced the earliest opportunity of giving you an account of a battle, fought on the 9th instant, by a party of Ohio volunteers, commanded by Colonel McArthur<sup>1</sup>—Who received orders to march with his Regiment, to dislodge a party of Indians, and a British, amounting to about six hundred; (say 200 of the latter) who had collected at Brownstown, opposite Malden, and about eighteen miles from Detroit. Their situation was such that they cut off all communication, between this place and Detroit. In pursuance of his order, Colonel McA[rthur] marched down, and attacked them on the 8th, but was repulsed; on the 9th he made a second attempt, in which he proved successful, as he completely routed the enemy, took possession of their boats, in which they had crossed the straight; and some arms. The loss of the enemy is said to be, about 150 killed and wounded. 16 taken prisoners.

Our loss is stated to be 18 or 20 killed; and about seventy wounded. This victory will have a very happy effect. It will not, *only*, stimulate our troops, but will deter and intimidate the enemy. This information came by express, and can be relied on.<sup>2</sup>

Part of the Kentucky volunteers have arrived at Newport, the balance will be here in two or three days—among which

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<sup>1</sup>Duncan McArthur afterwards elected governor of Ohio in 1830, after serving as member of Congress from 1823 to 1825. He, Lewis Cass, and James Findlay were important subordinate officers under Hull and were by him included in the surrender of Detroit. McArthur became brigadier general Mar. 12, 1813, and served through the war. Cf. Lanman, Charles, *Dictionary of the U. S. Congress*, p. 247, and Heitman, F. B. *Hist. Register of the U. S. Army*, p. 425.

<sup>2</sup>This seems to be an erroneous report of the fight that Colonel Miller had with the British and Indians on Aug. 8th, McArthur was ordered to join Miller with a hundred men as soon as Hull learned of the engagement. Cf. Clarke, James Freeman, *Hist. of the Campaign of 1812*, etc., pp. 357-8.



is your old acquaintance Doct[or] Scott,<sup>3</sup> who commands a Regiment. What sensations must be produced in every bosom, that possesses one spark of patriotism; or thirst for *glory*, in the field of Mars. But fortune as usual smiles on me—but with contempt— She appears to decree, in direct opposition, to the fire of youth, and feelings of independence. *All's well*. Please accept of my warmest wishes for your health and happiness, and believe me Madam

Sincerely yours

Mrs. Jane Findlay

Tho. Sloo, Jr

Mercersburgh Pennsylvania

I had like to have forgot to say that Mrs Johnston is well. The reinforcement that goes to Detroit will am[oun]t to about 3000. Please to remember me to my friend Nathan C.....<sup>4</sup> if he is with you and tell him, I should be extremely happy to hear from him.

T.S.

## II

MARTIN BAUM<sup>5</sup> TO THOMAS SLOO, JR.

[Box 2, No. 8.]

Cincinnati March 28th 1813

Mr Thomas Sloo

[Washington City]

Sir,

Since your departure Gen[era]l Harrison has handed me the enclosed certificate of facts, which goes to substantiate our Claim against the War department, for the two per cent, which we claim, and if there is the least difficulty in obtaining it, you then will please make use of this statement of Gen[era]l Harrison's. If there is no difficulty of obtaining the 2 p[er] c[en]t then you need not show it.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>Probably Dr. John M. Scott of Frankfort. He was concerned in some early land transactions with Findlay. Cf. Box 21, Nos. 1, 2, and *Biographical Cyclopaedia of the Commonwealth of Kentucky*, p. 237.

<sup>4</sup>Nathan C. Findlay, younger brother of James, and afterwards a resident of Zanesville, O.

<sup>5</sup>For Martin Baum see Greve C. T., *Centennial History of Cincinnati*, pp. 439, 573.

<sup>6</sup>For further reference to this percentum see page 12.



In case the War Department refuses to furnish a guard,<sup>7</sup> and you will have to hire one, it will be well to engage them only as far as Pittsburgh, because I am confident I can procure a guard from Gen[era]l Harrison to meet you at Pittsburgh and to come down the River with you. This step may save some money and will be equally safe.

Nothing else has occurred to me which would be necessary to state to you at this time [-I] will however address you frequently hereafter

### III.

MARTIN BAUM TO THOMAS SLOO, JR.

[Box 2, No. 9.]

Cincinnati 4th April 1813

Sir

I promised to write you frequently and therefore determined to fulfill that promise.

When you left this [place] I requested you to urge the Secretary of War<sup>8</sup> to furnish a guard, if therefore he does not grant one at the first asking press the necessity of one again and again untill he will yield.

Tel him that you cannot do without one and that if he will not consent to furnish the guard for the whole distance to this place it will be of infinite service as far as Pittsburgh, for arrangements may be made for some persons to meet you there if the guard does not come all the way to this place, use every argument you can invent to procure the guard, and get Gen[era]l Taylor's<sup>9</sup> influence to urge it also. I am confident that he will be of great service to you in the business, because he knows

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<sup>7</sup>This guard was for the purpose of protecting the specie which Sloo was conducting to Cincinnati, to be used through the Miami Exporting Company in paying the troops in General Harrison's army. Cf. the following letter.

<sup>8</sup>John Armstrong of New York, late minister to France was then filling this office.

<sup>9</sup>James Taylor of Newport, Ky, who was the Commissary-General of the Western Army during this war. A manuscript copy of General Taylor's *Reminiscences* is in possession of Colonel Reuben T. Durrett of Louisville, Ky. For other references to General Taylor Cf. *Quarterly* II, 105; IV, 129, 131.





the services which the M[iami] E[xporting] Company<sup>10</sup> has rendered the Public, and which it still continues to give. Should the Secretary refuse to grant the guard then press him for arms to supply the guard which you will have to hire. I have applied to General Harrison and stated to him that I wish him to write to the Secretary of War and request a Guard for us, but he stated to me that from what he had already written on the subject, he had not the least doubt but it will be furnished, that nothing further is necessary on that point. I therefore feel confident it will be Granted.

You better write to Mr John Adams at Philadelphia and ascertain if he will accompany you out. State to him when you will expect to [be] ready to set out with your Cargo and where he shall meet you.

In case neither a Guard nor arms are furnished then I suggest the propriety of purchasing some good Muskets or Guns, of the measure you will have to Judge yourself.

As advances to the Public are daily made and to considerable sums too, the sooner you can therefore return the better, and for this reason no unnecessary delay should take place. By next mail you may expect to hear from me again

Yours respectfully

Mr Thomas Sloo of Cincinnati  
now in Washington City

#### IV.

MARTIN BAUM TO THOMAS SLOO.

[Box 2, No. 10.]

Cincinnati 10th April 1813

Mr Thomas Sloo  
[Washington City]  
Sir

Your letter dated at Wheeling the 2d Instant has come to hand and am glad to here that you have progressed so well.

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<sup>10</sup>For a brief sketch of the Miami Exporting Company see the article by F. P. Goodwin, in the *Quarterly of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society*, XVI, pp. 329, 330. For other references to the company cf. Box 12, No. 4; Box 9, No. 16; Box 11, No. 67.



I have this [day] wrote to Mr. Gallatin<sup>11</sup> and stated to him that if he wished to retain the am[oun]t of the Treasurers deposit now in the M[iami] E[xporting] Company out of the Drafts sent by you that he might do so. If this letter meets you in Washington City it may not be amis to call on him. As he has the Treasurers account with this Bank sent him by Mr Spencer<sup>12</sup> he will see the balance due him and no doubt will retain it, if it is his desire to do so.

I have received a letter from Mr Gallatin from the tenor of which I have some apprehension that some of the Drafts [in] your hands may not be duly honoured though I cannot see any just ground of rejecting payment. To obviate the difficulty thus apprehended I have enclosed you a Copy of a letter received from the late Secretary at war<sup>13</sup> which will show that Col[onel] Morrison<sup>14</sup> and Buford<sup>15</sup> were authorized to Draw without limitation, and the other Public agents have also been authorized to Draw without limitation by Gen[era]l Harrison. But their authorities are not now in our possession, will however send them when we obtain them. Should the Secretary of War refuse to pay Col[onel] Morrisons or Bufords Drafts or any of the others, you then will exhibit the Copy of his predecessors letter to him

I feel anxious to hear from you from the City and to lern the fate of your mission. Will write again

Yours very respectfully

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<sup>11</sup>Albert Gallatin, the Secretary of the Treasury, who was about to depart for Europe as one of the commissioners to negotiate peace with Great Britain. Cf. p. 10.

<sup>12</sup>O. M. Spencer one of the organizers of the Miami Exporting Company. Later he is reported as its president. *Cincinnati Directory for 1819*. See also *Quarterly II*, p. 116; Greve, I, *passim*.

<sup>13</sup>William Eustis of Massachusetts.

<sup>14</sup>James Morrison of Lexington, Ky., an army contractor. The *Torrence Papers*, Box 17, Nos. 50-55 contain some of his letters. Cf. *Quarterly II*, p. 105.

<sup>15</sup>Thomas Buford of Kentucky, one of the purchasing agents of the Commissary Department. Cf. Heitman, p. 156.



V.

THOMAS SLOO, JR. TO JAMES FINDLAY.

[Box 21, No. 37.]

Washington City 13th Ap[ri]l 1813

At length my dear Sir, I have had the long wished for gratification of visiting Mercersburgh; and suffice it to say, that I was not disappointed, in the opinions, and expectations I had formed of your friends there. The particular friendship and attention with which I was treated by them, while at that place, shall ever be remembered with gratitude.<sup>16</sup> They were all well, except Mrs. Parker, who has been confined for sometime with the rheumatism, but is now recovering. W[illia]m Irwin<sup>17</sup> has been appointed prosecuting Attorney for one of the new counties of P[ennsylvani]a, and intended to leave Mercersburgh for sun-berry in a few days after I saw him, which was on the 9th ins[an]t.

I arrived here on the 11th ins[an]t, but have not yet been able to arrange my business. I expect to know, tomorrow, what I have to calculate on. It is the general opinion that we shall have peace in a short time. Mr. Gallatin sets off for Russia in a few days;<sup>18</sup> and it is said the Russian mediator is now with Admiral Warren.<sup>19</sup> An armistice [it] is supposed will be the result of his mediation. They have numerous reports every day, of the british having landed at different places, all of which I believe to be false. If they have landed at all, it is merely small plundering parties, whose principle object is a little fresh provision.

I have not yet seen Mr Gallatin, consequently can give you no information relative to your business. I will write you on

<sup>16</sup>A sequel to this visit was his marriage, July 14, 1814, to Miss Harriet Irwin, a niece of Mrs. Findlay. Cf. Snyder, J. F. in *Publication No. 8 of the Illinois State Historical Library*, p. 202.

<sup>17</sup>For William Irwin see Chart of the Torrence, Findlay and allied Families. A William Irwin was one of the prominent merchants of Cincinnati.

<sup>18</sup>He sailed from New Castle, Del. May 9, 1813. Stevens, J. A., *Albert Gallatin*.

<sup>19</sup>He was in charge of the fleet blockading the Chesapeake and Delaware. Cf. McMaster *IV*, 121.



that subject so soon as I shall have a conference with him. I regret very much, not having found our friend Jesup<sup>20</sup> here. He was ordered to Cleveland, previous to my arrival; to superintend the building of some boats at that place; being appointed Dpty Q. Gt [Deputy Quarter Master General], and since his departure promoted to Major, in the 19th Reg[imen]t. Which circumstance, it affords me the greatest pleasure to communicate, as I know it will be highly gratifying to you, and profitable, and honorable to him. I have been appointed 3rd Lieut[enant] in the Reg[imen]t of Light Artillery. Qu[er]e? Am I not in honor bound to accept the appointment (be it what it may) which my friends have procured for me. The corps is one of the most honorable and permanent. It has been signified to me, that if I accept the appointment of 3d L[ieutenant], I can have an appointment in the staff immediately. I think I shall not accept. However I shall take a few days to consider of the matter.<sup>21</sup> I found Gen[eral] Taylor and Mr. Beall<sup>22</sup> here, the Gen[era]l has been extremely polite and attentive to me, and rendered me every assistance in his power relative to my business.

My respects to Mrs. Findlay and all friends. I am D[ea]r Sir with sentiments of the highest respect and esteem  
Gen[era]l James Findlay

Cincinnati Ohio

## VI.

JOHN ARMSTRONG<sup>23</sup> TO MARTIN BAUM.

[Box 1, No. 14.<sup>a</sup>]

Copy

War Department April 17, 1813.

Sir,

The percentage in the account rendered by the Miami Exporting Company can only be claimed as compensation for loss

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<sup>20</sup>For Thomas S. Jesup cf. *Quarterly* IV, 130.

<sup>21</sup>Sloo's name does not appear in Heitman, so he evidently did not accept the appointment.

<sup>22</sup>The reference is too indefinite to locate accurately in Heitman.

<sup>23</sup>John Armstrong of New York served during the Revolutionary War and is supposed to be the author of the celebrated "Newburgh Address".





on Exchange, and it is no doubt equitable to compensate such loss, if suffered.

The Bills of List marked B, were paid by the Treasury out of a Deposit in Specie made with the Company, on these therefore there is no loss.

The Bills on the lists marked A and C, were remitted through the Bank of Pennsylvania, and have been paid; on these, no loss could have accrued, As the Company has sold Bills on that Bank to an equal Amount.

This appears from a statement of the affairs of that Bank, shewing that the funds of the M[iami] E[xporting] Company in the hands of the Bank did not exceed 35,000 Dollars on the 9<sup>th</sup> Ins[tan]t.

The Bills on the list marked D, are not yet paid. These will be paid by Drafts on Philadelphia and Baltimore. Mr. Sloo will have a right, common to every person, to demand payment in specie. The conveyance of this will be at the Company's expence, and covered by the two per Centum, which will be allowed on these bills. The Bills drawn upon the Paymaster General to the Amount of 135,702<sup>32</sup>/<sub>100</sub> having been taken up by the Company at 2 per Cent discount, no further allowance on them can be claimed.

Very respectfully,

I am, Sir, your mo. obt.

Humble Servant

John Armstrong

Martin Baum Esq<sup>r</sup>

President of the

Miami Exporting Comp<sup>y</sup>

Cincinnati

A true copy from the original by John Stokes

---

He succeeded Robert R. Livingston as minister to France and served until 1811. In Feb. 1813 he became head of the War Department but his administration was ineffective. Cf. H. Adams, *Hist. of the U. S.* and McMaster *III* and *IV passim*. Armstrong represented that New York faction which Jefferson and Madison deemed it necessary to propitiate, even at the expense of such Virginians as Monroe, Skipwith, and John Randolph.



VII.

THOMAS SLOO, JR. TO MARTIN BAUM.

[Box 1, No. 14.<sup>b</sup>]

Copy.

Cincinnati 8th June 1813.

Sir,

You will herewith receive my statement of the expences attending the transportation of a certain amount of Specie<sup>24</sup> received by me, on account of the Miami Exporting Company at Philadelphia, and my disposition of said Specie since my return to this place. You will also receive some papers put into my hands relative to your transactions with the agents of Government, and which may be of service to you in the final adjustment of your affairs with the War Department.

At the particular request of the Sec[retary] of War, I left the statement of your account with the United States, and the statements A. B. C. & D., (of Advances made in this Country to public agent) in his Office. I found it impossible to keep a particular statement of my expenses, but know the general charge made in my account to be correct.

I am very respectfully Sir

Your ob[edient] Serv[ant]

Martin Baum, Esq<sup>r</sup>,

Pres[ident] of the Miami

Exporting Company.

A true Copy from the original by John Stokes

VIII.

OLIVER M. SPENCER<sup>25</sup> TO AARON OGDEN.<sup>26</sup>

[Box 22, No. 3.]

Cincinnati 23d Sept[ember] 1815

Gen[eral] Aaron Ogden,

[Elizabeth Town New Jersey]

Dear Sir,

This letter will be handed to you by my particular friend Mr Thomas Sloo Jr of this place, I beg leave to introduce him

<sup>24</sup>See pages 7, 8, 12.

<sup>25</sup>For O. M. Spencer see Note 12. He was one of those greatly interested at this time in the project of making Cincinnati a port of entry for the purpose of furthering the plans of the company he describes.

<sup>26</sup>Aaron Ogden of Elizabethtown, N. J. later acquired the steamboat monopoly rights of J. R. Livingston and figured in the celebrated case



to your acquaintance, and recommend him to your friendly attention.

Mr Sloo, is one of the Firm of Hunt Baum Riddle & Co, (composed of Jesse Hunt, Martin Baum, James Riddle, James Findlay, Jacob Burnet, O. M. Spencer and others)<sup>27</sup> a company formed for the purpose of importing goods from England, for which place he will shortly embark from N[ew] York. Most of the gentlemen of the above Firm are possessed of very large fortunes, and some of them would be singly able to meet any engagements that Mr Sloo is authorized to make. Mr Sloo will have letters from some of the most respectable importers in Baltimore and Philadelphia, to mercantile houses in England, but as a choice of Houses might be an advantage to him, Permit me to solicit your friendly aid in procuring from some of your mercantile friends in New York, such letters as will assist him in accomplishing the object of the firm.<sup>28</sup> Our mutual friend

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of Gibbons vs. Ogden. Cf. Thayer, J. R. *Cases in Constitutional Law*, II, p. 1799ff. See also Drake, F. S. *Dictionary of National Biography*, p. 668.

<sup>27</sup>See the list of names given in the following letter. For references to these men consult *Quarterly* II, p. 105; IV, pp. 132-135. For a letter written to Sloo by Mrs. Z. M. Pike see *Ibid* IV, 135. Cf. also Greve, C. T. *Cen. Hist. of Cinn. passim*.

<sup>28</sup>The *Liberty Hall* for Jan. 18, 1814, states that the "Cincinnati Exporting and Importing Company" had been formed for the purpose of exporting and importing produce but no banking or speculation was to be permitted. It was, however, one of the "wild cat" concerns of the period. Contemporaneous with the operations of the company mentioned in this letter there began an agitation to make Cincinnati a port of entry, or at any rate, to permit importers to give bond at New Orleans for the payment of duties and to pay these to a special collector at Cincinnati. Louisville also desired this privilege, so the two cities were joined together in the bill which passed the House of Representatives. The bill was defeated largely through the opposition of William H. Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury, who feared the expense and the facility afforded for smuggling. Both John McLean and William Henry Harrison supported the measure, and the former especially mentioned the formation of the company referred to, as a reason for establishing the port of entry. The Act of Mar. 2, 1831 (*U. S. Stat. at Large IV*) finally allowed Cincinnati and other cities along the Ohio and Missouri to import their goods in bond. *Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette*, Jan. 15, 1816; *Annals 14 Cong., 2nd Sess.* p. 362.



Gen[era]l Jona[than] Dayton,<sup>29</sup> is personally acquainted with a number of the Gentlemen composing the Firm and will if necessary confirm the assurance that their entire competence to meet any engagement, which their partner Mr Sloo may make, will preclude the most distant probability, that your friendship will be misapplied.

I have the satisfaction of informing you that my dear mother enjoys tolerable health, my own family and that of my sister Mrs Weeks are well.

Remember me affectionately and respectfully to Aunt Ogden and your family and permit me to subscribe myself with sentiments and esteem

your affectionate relative & obt

### IX.

NICHOLAS LONGWORTH<sup>30</sup> TO JONATHAN DAYTON.  
[Box 14, No. 58.]

Cincinnati Sept 23d 1815

D[ea]r Sir

Permit me to introduce to your acquaintance Mr Tho[ma]s Sloo Jr, one of the firm of Baum Sloo & Co. We have established a Company here for the purpose of importing goods from England, not so much from a view of profit, as an impression of the importance of such an Establishment to the Western Country. Mr Sloo is appointed as the Agent to make purchases in England. Confident that a desire to accommodate the persons concerned, and a desire to promote every thing beneficial to the western country, would induce you to give us such aid in the prosecution of the business, as may be in your power, I have been requested to address you on the subject, and request you to procure for Mr Sloo letters of recommendation from

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<sup>29</sup>From a very early period Dayton's interest in Trans-Allegheny speculation had brought him into intimate contact with many western leaders and he was likewise concerned in Burr's land and filibustering projects. Cf. the following letter and McCaleb, W. F. *The Aaron Burr Conspiracy*, *passim*.

<sup>30</sup>For Nicholas Longworth cf. Greve, *Cent. Hist. Cinn. passim*, and Drake, *Dict. Amer. Biog.* p. 561.





such houses of high standing in New York, as you may be particularly acquainted with. Being personally acquainted with all the persons composing the concern, you can give the kind of information to your friends, that will be satisfactory.

James Findlay Jesse Hunt John H. Piatt Riddle Bechtle & Co Martin Baum N[icholas] Longworth O[liver] M. Spencer, Yeatman and [William C.] Anderson Jacob Burnet and Tho[ma]s Sloo Jr compose the firm.<sup>31</sup> Mr Sloo will have letters from the first houses in Phil[adelphi]a and Baltimore, and we were desirous of letters from New York, if practicable.

I am very respectfully yr obt ser<sup>t</sup>

Gen[era]l Jonathan Dayton  
Elizabeth Town New Jersey

X.

WILLIAM C. ANDERSON<sup>32</sup> TO THOMAS SLOO, JR.  
[Box 11, No. 73.]

Cincinnati 27 Nov[embe]r 1815

Mr Thomas Sloo Jun<sup>r</sup>

[Care of Messrs Wm & James Brown, Merchants  
Liverpool]  
Sir

Your two letters from New York have been duly received. The success you have met with in laying the foundation of our credit, is fully up to our wishes. This so far will do. But it was not our calculation to place a fund in England cotemporary with your purchases; on the contrary, to meet them with produce, if possible, at Orleans. And this was the object of establishing a good name, for with this we supposed the British merchants rather than keep their goods would readily take their pay at Orleans, and in a general way at par. That they will do, except when the balance of trade stands very much against us; and finding this the case at present, we think it best to confine your purchases to something like one hundred thou-

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<sup>31</sup>See Note 26.

<sup>32</sup>A William Anderson is reported as a merchant in the Directory for 1819.



sand Dollars rather than two, under the instructions already with you.

On your arrival you probably find goods high; they are so in our eastern Cities, and diminish in value as they travel this way, owing to the unusual flow of them into the Country. This will however no doubt change; yet at present there is nothing like the ordinary shipments of our produce; and as we anticipate a different state of things for the reason of its happening from the transition from war to peace; so for these reasons we deem it good policy to await the favorable moment for heavy purchases.<sup>33</sup>

Nevertheless, Mr Riddle<sup>34</sup> will proceed to Orleans in good season to make the best use of our plan; and as you progress we shall keep you advised.

But whatever capital it may be found convenient to throw at your command into Europe, must be considered as Casualty, whilst Orleans is to be considered stationary whether for payments in money or produce. A reasonable reverse of exchange will be the signal for the liberal operation of our enterprise. Should that reverse be found obstinate, we conceive it will not be because our plan of making the Mississippi the channel of our imports as well as exports is at all chimerical, but because making it the course of imports is necessary to the opening of it for a full course of exports; and this, should the exchange continue to be exacted of you, we shall effect by degrees, submitting to the difference of exchange till removed.

The navigation of the Mississippi, we inform you, is from new circumstances every day becoming more important.<sup>35</sup> The difficulty from its mouth to Orleans is nearly at an end: the

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<sup>33</sup>For trading conditions immediately following the second War with Great Britain cf. McMaster IV, p. 321ff. The demand for English goods was unusually great for several months following the resumption of trade relations but there was not a corresponding demand for our produce.

<sup>34</sup>The firm of Riddle, Bechtle & Co. was a prominent one in the city at this period. See the list of names on pages 14 and 16.

<sup>35</sup>He undoubtedly refers to the introduction of the steamboat on western waters, or as McLean had expressed it "The invaluable discovery of propelling boats by steam." *Niles Register* for July 1, 1815 reported that the Steamboat "Enterprize" had worked its way up from New Orleans to Bardstown (nearly 1500 miles) in 25 days.



steamboats attend at the turns, each takes a ship in tow, and in a few hours they arrive at port.<sup>38</sup>

We are with much esteem, etc. etc.

For Hunt Riddle Piatt & Co.

W. C. Anderson.

## XI.

HUNT RIDDLE PIATT & CO. TO THOMAS SLOO, JR.  
[Box 11, No. 75.]

Cincinnati 23d August 1816

Mr Thomas Sloo Jr

[Care of Messrs Wm & Jas Brown & Co.,  
Liverpool]

Sir,

Our last to you from this place was the 10th June.

The singular situation of Exchanges throughout our own Country had then produced difficulties of opening credit eastwardly for our agent at New Orleans beyond any calculation; and such credits were absolutely necessary, because it was too lately discovered that our shipments to Orleans, however sufficient in Magnitude, would not produce funds in time for the payment of your future drafts; You were therefore advised to gain, if possible, an extension of time for their maturity. Those difficulties have since increased to such a degree as not

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<sup>38</sup>At first it was thought that the chief function of steamboats would be to tow other boats carrying freights and passengers. *Niles Register* (June 1, 1814) reports a patent for this purpose to be applied on the Merrimac River. The *Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette*, for April 1, 1816 states that "a Mississippi Trader" believes that steamboats should be used for no other purpose than towing other boats, and the *Lexington Reporter*, Jan. 10, 1816, utters the same sentiment. As a prophecy of the effect of this and other important commercial improvements the former paper in its issue of Feb. 19, 1816 thus expresses itself:

"Here, ere long, our town shall rise  
With turrets sparkling to the skies,  
And shine in backwoods splendor drest,  
The Great Emporium of the West."

It was this feeling that undoubtedly prompted the spirit of extensive speculation which led up to the commercial crash of 1819-20.



to be surmounted by laps of time.<sup>37</sup> Your gaining indulgence becomes therefore the more urgent; in short, it is not now a matter of policy or choice but of absolute necessity. The Drafts that have so far appeared are \$30,000- £1447. 18. 0- \$15,000- 1447. 3. 0.-<sup>38</sup>

These we trust will all be honored in course, yet through straightness that nothing but the superior abilities and credit of our agent Mr Musson [?] can controul; for the strength of our house can only give confidence without at the same time deriving from it those advantages in its commercial pursuits which it could have commanded in all other times of which we have any knowledge.

Heretofore you know we could affect at any point of the Union a credit for our operations at any other point; but even Banks, then the most efficacious organs of remittances and negotiations, are at this juncture not of the least important utility to us; in truth, in them is now found almost the whole difficulty.<sup>39</sup> For instance: our Gazettes apprise you of a National Bank and the consequent steps of the government for compelling the State Banks to Specie payments.<sup>40</sup> The dreaded consequences of these steps are such as cut off every accommodation, and, in fact, all intercourse between bank and bank, except what leads to the accumulation of specie and the constant calling in of paper medium. Hence, till the panic is over we have no other resource to look to at Orleans than the proceeds of the produce; nor in this should we have acted at convenience till of late because no human conception perceived the fallacy of *some* reliance upon a bank intercourse.

The period then to which we wish you would if possible

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<sup>37</sup>The balance of trade was strongly against the United States at this time. The local markets were flooded with manufactured goods, while there was less demand for our products than had been the case before the war.

<sup>38</sup>It seems hardly possible that these figures represent the current rate of exchange, but with our present sources of information no other suggestion can be offered.

<sup>39</sup>On general banking conditions in the country at large consult McMaster *IV*, p. 295ff.

<sup>40</sup>For the measures leading to the establishment of this institution cf. Catterall, Ralph C. H. *The Second Bank of the United States*, Ch. I., and McMaster, *IV*, p. 309ff.





pitch the payment of your future drafts is about April next. In the meantime suspend making any further purchases, and hold yourself in readiness quietly in England for further orders.<sup>41</sup>

We are in hopes and have no doubts of better times long before the intended period of your returning to America; and consequently the objects of this company though so much embarrassed in the beginning will in the end be fully affected.

Let your communications to us be full and frequent and any that you make to our house at Orleans the knowledge of which you would conceive at all of use here, forward here a copy. So also when the original is addressed here if at all useful at Orleans, give to that point a copy. the same knowledge is then had mostly at the same time at both places. The Goods by the *Retrieve*<sup>42</sup> are on their way up and should reach here by the first of Nov[embe]r. Mr Musson is now alone for us at Orleans, Mr Anderson having returned.

## XII.

GORHAM A. WORTH<sup>43</sup> TO THOMAS SLOO, JR.

[Box 29, No. 49.]

Office Dis[coun]t. & Deposit. B[an]k U[nited] S[tates]  
Cincinnati 13 Feb[ruar]y 1818.

Dear Sir

I have the pleasure to inform you that you have been appointed a Director of this Institution for the Ensuing year.

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<sup>41</sup>This seems to indicate the failure of the main purpose of Sloo's trip to England and the dissolution of the co-partnership engaged in the transaction.

<sup>42</sup>The anticipated length of passage would seem to indicate that the *Retrieve* was a barge and not one of the new steamboats.

<sup>43</sup>Worth was then acting as cashier of the Cincinnati Branch of the Second U. S. Bank. For reference to this cf. *Quarterly* II, pp. 104, 5; III, p. 108. Worth's letters to Sloo are found in Box 29, Nos. 49 to 66 inclusive and form our most important source of information regarding Sloo's career. These men seem to have been intimate friends as well as business associates in Cincinnati affairs and in western land speculations. The vicissitudes of Worth's career in Cincinnati are shown in the succeeding letters. He finally lost his position in Cincinnati when the Branch was temporarily withdrawn in October, 1820, but obtained similar employment in New York City.



The Board will meet this afternoon at 4 O Clock—when you will please attend.<sup>44</sup>

Your most Ob<sup>t</sup> St  
G. A. Worth, Cash.

XIII.

THOMAS S. JESUP TO THOMAS SLOO, JR.  
[Box 13, No. 18.]

Quarter Master Gen[era]ls Office  
Washington City Nov[embe]r 19th 1819.

Sir,

You are appointed agent for the Quarter Masters department at Cincinnati and Newport. Your duty will be to furnish transportation for troops or stores which may be sent from Newport; and to furnish fuel, forage, straw and stationary, for such troops as may be stationed either there, or at Cincinnati, also to pay, on the order of the commanding officer for apprehending deserters. A copy of the regulations for the Quarter Masters department is herewith enclosed.<sup>45</sup>

I have the honor to be, Sir,  
Your Ob<sup>t</sup> servt

Th. S. Jesup  
Q. M. G<sup>l</sup>

Tho. Sloo Jr Esq<sup>r</sup>  
Cincinnati,  
Ohio.

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<sup>44</sup>In the issue of the *Western Spy* for Jan. 31, 1818 appears the notice that "T. Sloo, Jr. & Co., are now opening (In the house formerly occupied by Carneal and Howell, on Main Street) a large and general assortment of Merchandize." The advertisement states that "the greater part of their goods were selected by one of the firm [evidently Sloo] and imported direct from England, by way of New Orleans." In a few months this firm goes out of business and its accounts as well as those of N. Sloo & Co. are turned over to the firm of H. T. Sloo and Co. (the head of this firm is possibly Thomas Sloo's brother, Howell T. Sloo). Still later the accounts of H. T. Sloo & Co. are turned over to William Irwin and Co. Archibald Irwin continues to act as Sloo's agent in shipping merchandise to him in Illinois and in extending his notes, etc. Cf. *Liberty Hall*, May 5, 1819 and Feb. 1, 1820 and Box 12, Nos. 4 and 5.

<sup>45</sup>The last receipt bearing Sloo's name as agent of the Quartermaster General's department bears date of May 6, 1820. Cf. *Torrence Papers*, Box 50. Doubtless in view of the business reverses which overtook Sloo at this time and ultimately led him to migrate to Illinois, this office proved very acceptable. It seems to have been the result of his former friendship with Jesup. Cf. page 11.



# XIV.

GORHAM A. WORTH TO THOMAS SLOO, JR.  
[Box 29, No. 50.]

Chillicothe Monday Mor[nin]g  
(I don't know what day of the month tis—)  
Dec[ember] 1819

My Dear Sloo

I arrived in this splendid capital<sup>46</sup> yesterday morning about 11 O Clock, a very pretty place, but from appearance of things tis *Sunday here* every day in the week.

The stage for the *East*, does not leave here till tomorrow so that I have this day to lose.

My Endorsement in your office for Mr Embree,<sup>47</sup> is not to be continued. The evening before I left home I assigned over the certificates of the Indiana lands to Mr Embree, on pieces of paper attached to the certificates, those certificates are to be lodged in *your hands* by Mr Symmes and *not* to be d[e]l[ivere]d to Mr Embree till the Endorsement on the note shall be changed. In case of any failure on the part of Mr Embree the transfer of the Certificates is to be annulled by tearing off the paper upon which the transfer is made and thereby leaving the whole in *Statu quo*. I hope you understand all this.

If you should want any more funds to meet my business in your hands, you must write me to that effect, and if I get the 300\$ from Gen[era]l Edmonds I will enclose it to you. If I should be disappointed in that, I will remit you from other resources.

Mr Claypool<sup>48</sup> treats me with great politeness and cordiality the weather begins to look threatening, and your humble serv[an]t is of course in the *figdets* to get on.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>46</sup>Worth is writing in ironical vein for Columbus was selected as the capital in 1812 and had been occupied by the legislature since 1817.

<sup>47</sup>Evidently Jesse Embree, who with M. T. Williams and David Pierce had just opened an office on Main Street, "for the purchase and sale of lands, and of General Land Intelligence." One of their number was located in Illinois Territory—an interesting fact in view of Worth's and Sloo's interests in that locality. Cf. *The Western Spy*, Mar. 7, 1818.

<sup>48</sup>Possibly Abraham Claypool. Cf. *Hist. of Ross & Highland Counties*, p. 65.

<sup>49</sup>Worth was on his way to Philadelphia to protest to the directors of the National Bank against his removal from his position as cashier of the Cincinnati branch.



Remember me to Mrs Sloo,<sup>50</sup> and assure her that tis not in my nature to forget any act of kindness friendship or civility, or cease to cherish the remembrance of those to whom I am indebted for their good wishes and good opinion,       Adieu<sup>51</sup>  
Thomas Sloo jr  
Cincinnati

XV.

GORHAM A. WORTH TO THOMAS SLOO, JR.  
[Box 29, No. 51.]

Baltimore 15th Dec[embe]r 1819

Dear Sloo,

I this evening arrived in this Mobocratic and *Bankcratic* capital;<sup>52</sup> as yet have seen nothing and nobody; all is runabout, ringabout, cross in and out, four hands half round and back again—a mighty botheration about nothing—a great supper made up of servants and oyster shells.

Its the great House—Landlord's name *Barnam*—servants all *paddies*. I wish the Devil had 'em all; the rascals put me in a room without fire—twould'ent do—got a fire at last, though I believe twas made for somebody else. 16 Beds in the room—Tag, rag and Bobtail, in ruffled shirts—Beaux, and Jockies, and Gamblers!—found a quire of paper on a Bed and so began this letter.

We took in a passenger at Hagerstown for this place, a mighty talking would-be-witty Gentleman. He found out my name and began to talk about the Bank, considered Ohio as dam'd for keeping the Bank money, said the Govern[men]t would take it back by *force*; that the State was in rebellion, etc., etc., talked of Mr Cheves<sup>53</sup> in high terms, said he was amazing popular,

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<sup>50</sup>This was Sloo's second wife Elizabeth Smith Findlay, daughter of John Findlay of Chambersburgh, Pa. whom he had married Aug. 25, 1819. Cf. Snyder, *loc. cit.*, 202.

<sup>51</sup>A postscript to this letter mentions the insurance rates prevailing in Cincinnati at this time.

<sup>52</sup>For frauds and disurbances in connection with the branch of the National Bank at Baltimore. Cf. Catterall, pp. 39-50.

<sup>53</sup>For an account of Langdon Cheves and his administration of the affairs of the Bank consult Catterall, Ch. IV.





etc. I found out he was a Broker and his name I believe is *McPherson!*—

This is all the news I have got. I have slept but about 30 hours since I left home. The last 48 hours I slept as nigh *none at all* as possible, am therefore tired, wornout, half sick, half mad, half disgusted, and half dead.

I start tomorrow for Philadelphia and at that port will write again

Remember me most respectfully to Madam and believe me as usual

Yours truly

## XVI.

GORHAM A. WORTH TO THOMAS SLOO, JR.

[Box 29, No. 52.]

Philadelphia Dec[embe]r 18 1819.

Dear Sloo,

I reached here this morning—I mean *yesterday* morning; have been at the Bank, seen Mr Price, Mr Smith,<sup>54</sup> etc. The vanity, and conceit, and pride, and haughtiness, and pretended purity of the Great man,<sup>55</sup> are not to be imagined; no concessions, no admission of error will be made.

I have this day written to the Board, telling them that as I presumed they were by this time in possession of facts and documents conclusive as to the correctness of my official acts, they would be pleased to authorize the same to be stated in one of the public papers. But I know they will not do it, and tomorrow I prepare my documents for the press. The great man relies upon his southern, and Governmental support. The Board however *may* be changed, in that event he may take it into his head to *resign*, and the system of hypocrisy and persecution, and damnation to the Institution may then cease.<sup>56</sup> The Government

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<sup>54</sup>Jonathan Smith the cashier of the main Bank.

<sup>55</sup>Langdon Cheves, the president, who came from South Carolina.

<sup>56</sup>On succeeding William Jones as president of the Second National Bank Cheves found its affairs in a most critical condition and instituted a series of reforms which saved it from ruin. The affairs of the Cincinnati Branch were especially involved, so it is natural that Worth should complain of "hypocrisy and persecution." In time the Bank was obliged



directly or Indirectly must and will support the Bank. I supped this evening with the Vice President<sup>57</sup> who is on his way to *Washington*. I shall have many friends in Congress, but I am apprehensive the Post I want will be disposed of before I can apply for it.

I shall be detained here till *Friday next*, I then start for the *City*. If Mr Glenn<sup>58</sup> has returned from Columbus, see him, and tell him to send me a letter to *Mr Scott*<sup>59</sup> delegate from Missouri.

Of matters and things in *particular* I have as yet learned but little. Write me often direct to *Washington* till further advised.

## XVII.

GORHAM A. WORTH TO THOMAS SLOO, JR.

[Box 29, No. 53.]

Philadelphia Dec[ember] 22d 1819.

Dear Sloo,

The Directors of the Bank of the U[nited] States are now in Session. The *documents* are I presume before them. I have also written to the Board requesting them to do the office and myself justice,<sup>60</sup> by authorizing something to that effect in the publick papers, But I have no Idea that they will do it. Cheves is at *present* Lord of the Ascendant, and a still further revolu-

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to assume control of a large part of the business area of Cincinnati, but the later rise in real estate prevented any great loss. Cf. Catterall, pp. 62, 66, 67 and Ch. IV *passim*.

<sup>57</sup>Daniel D. Tompkins of New York.

<sup>58</sup>Probably Hugh Glenn of the firm of Hugh and James Glenn, Cincinnati. Worth mentions him often in his succeeding letters. Cf. Box 29, Nos. 58 to 66. Glenn was also engaged in western Indian trade. Dr. Elliott Coues has published a most interesting but most difficult journal of an expedition by Glenn and Jacob Fowler in the region of the Arkansas River and New Mexico. Glenn suffered severely in the Cincinnati panic of 1819-20.

<sup>59</sup>John Scott was territorial delegate from Missouri from 1816 to 1821 and representative in Congress from the latter date to 1827. Cf. Lanman, p. 338.

<sup>60</sup>The Cincinnati branch was heavily involved at this time and one feature of Cleves' reform was the closing of this office for a time. This was carried out in October, 1820. Cf. Catterall, *passim*.



tion will take place If a *Board* of a different complexion cannot be elected, and the thing is doubtful.

My removal took place when all the liberal and honorable part of the Board was absent. Cheves is hated, as Hell ought to be, by some, and worship'd, as the Devil is, by Others—!—

In confidence—He or Smith will go out of the Bank, the former, If he cannot control, the latter by *compulsion*.<sup>61</sup>

There is no use in *trimming* at the office, the report of yours in *answer to the report* will leave no room for accommodation if Cheves rules.—I will write you more tomorrow.

Present the enclosed to my friend.

### XVIII.

GORHAM A. WORTH TO THOMAS SLOO, JR.

[Box 29, No. 54.]

Philadelphia Dec[embe]r 24th 1819

Dear Sloo,

I this morning rec[eive]d your letter of the 12th. Your determination not to resign is a "good one". I expected as much. *Self-interest* soon cools down all the unruly feelings of friendship, pride, independence, dignity and selfrespect. It is the *master spirit* and rules the heads and hearts of nineteen twentieths of the World.

The creed of the Persian is becoming universal; my Friends and acquaintances all worship the *rising Sun*. It is the God of their idolatry! and may they profit by the worship, bask in his beams, and not forsake him in the tempest, when the passing cloud shall obscure his face!

You see how easy it would be, to make you feel unpleasantly, if not to make you believe you had done *wrong*. But the above is all in fun, all a *Joke*. The course you have pursued is such as I would *now* recommend. Your resignation (I mean all of you)<sup>62</sup> would not have been of any service to me, and would

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<sup>61</sup>Smith was succeeded as cashier of the Main Bank, Feb. 25, 1820 by Thomas Wilson. Catterall, p. 78, n. 8.

<sup>62</sup>This may refer to a particular group of the directors of the Cincinnati branch—probably those who were most closely concerned with Worth.



no doubt have placed your interests in other mens hands. If the *Whole Board* would have resigned it *might* have made an Impression beneficial To the establishment and the place, but that being decidedly in the negative, your resignation would not have been *felt*, and consequently not *heeded*. give my regrets to the Gentlemen and tell them *not to resign*. Before you can give Mr Houston the names of the new Directors, or such as you would recommend, the Board *here*, will have already had a *list from another quarter*.

But let me tell you, that if the present Board of the Parent Bank is *not* changed, *you* will not succeed in the ticket you shall recommend.<sup>63</sup> Mr Cheves is at present Lord of the ascendant, and deals damnation round him! all the *Old System* is to be changed—right or wrong—and though a man of some talent, [he] is too *crooked* a Devil, and has too much malice to perceive or pursue, the *Interests of the Institution*. If he is not overruled, the Bank is dam'd!<sup>64</sup>

Immediately on my arrival in Town I addressed a letter to the Board requiring that Justice should be done, that if satisfied of the correctness of the Management of the office (as I presumed, they by this time must be) to authorize the same to be stated in one of the public prints. The subject was referred to the *same Committee* that made the Report and recommended my removal!; your address to Mr Cheves on the subject and in answer to the Report was also referred to the same Gentlemen, and two days after my letter had been handed in, I was requested to attend the Committee. I did so, and made a *speech of 3 hours*. To what effect I know not. But I can tell you that 3 of that Committee (6 in the whole) never attended and that those three will probably be favourable—two of them to a certainty. Mr Toland is as clever a fellow as ever God made. And several members of the Board look upon the *system pursued* with sorrow and disgust.

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<sup>63</sup>The new board of directors of the parent bank as finally chosen represented a compromise among the conflicting parties. The list is given in *Liberty Hall* for Jan. 21, 1820.

<sup>64</sup>Cheves' task was to reform the loose methods in the conduct of the Bank's affairs and in this he was successful. He was not, however, primarily a banker so after putting the affairs of the institution on a sound footing, he retired in October, 1823. Cf. Catterall, pp. 82, 91.





Tomorrow, I start for Washington, shall do nothing till I know what the *Bank* will do. Mr Cheves, is *ex-officio* a member of *all Committees*, and was a prominent member when I was before them, questioned me closely, and the committee had a *dam'd mass* of my letters papers etc. before them. But I had but the truth to tell and *could not* go wrong! Show the first part of this letter only to Keys.<sup>65</sup> Show the whole to Worthington<sup>66</sup> and Glenn. But let nothing come to the publick *as yet* from *me!* I hope *Mrs Sloo* was not offended at my presumption.

Adieu

Thomas Sloo, Jr.  
Cincinnati Ohio

## XIX.

GORHAM A. WORTH TO THOMAS SLOO, JR.  
[Box 29, No. 55.]

Philadelphia Dec[embe]r 26th 1819

Dear Sloo,

Although I have no hope that the *Bank*, will do anything of a just or *liberal*, character, yet my friends here have advised me to wait till *something is determined*. The same Committee of enquiry is still sitting, and it is no doubt the object of Mr Cheves to get at all the little details of the office, and every *informality*, every item in relation to Bills of exchange *renewed*, not forwarded, or changed into accommodation paper will be magnified into *high crimes and misdemeanors!*<sup>67</sup>

My rec[ord]s as I stated to you before, will undergo, or has already undergone a severe scrutiny, and has or will be

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<sup>65</sup>James Keys was one of the directors of the Cincinnati Branch. Cf. *Cinn. Directory for 1819*, p. 47.

<sup>66</sup>Thomas Worthington of Chillicothe, governor of Ohio, 1814-18 and U. S. senator, 1803-07; 1810-14. Worthington was greatly interested in the establishment of the Chillicothe branch of the U. S. Bank. Cf. *Quarterly* II, 103, and was at this time one of the directors of the Cincinnati Branch.

<sup>67</sup>This is a reference to the practice of paying one bill of exchange by the purchase of a new one. These were known as "race-horse" bills, because they were kept running to and fro without ever being paid. Cf. Catterall, p. 32.



reported in detail. Now you know that some of those Bills of mine were renewed, and that one or two were turned into Accommodation papers. Mr Burnet<sup>68</sup> not only sanctioned, but advised it. I have written to him, "To say the same to me in a letter." Some of the Board *may* say that they knew nothing of those *Bills of Exchange*. This would be the Devil all over! You know there was nothing secret in my acc[oun]t, and the Bills of *mine* as well as of others, were always examined by the committees, etc. So Mr Cheves is keeping the question off with the view of ascertaining all those little points and justifying my removal upon the grounds of *Irregular* and, as he terms it, "*improper proceedings*"—Remember the Bill of Gen[era]l Findlay<sup>69</sup> on his Brother the Gov[erno]r which was not forwarded, but renewed by a Bill on New Orleans. (This fastens him).

If the Board are true, and will act firmly there can be no difficulty. I want either the *president* to say that those Bills of mine were perfectly safe in any event, that their being renewed, was no way prejudicial to the interests of the office. That he recommended the measure himself, etc. or I want the Board to say something to that effect—at all events I wish the Board to say "That no private interests of mine ever interfered with the Interests of the office and they are convinced that I always consulted the latter in preference to my own."

Cheves is determined to make a noise about those Bills provided I publish anything, and perhaps even if I should not.

I have a great many friends here. But those dam Bills, though right and proper, are stumbling Blocks.

Suppose you speak to Burnet on the subject or to Doct[or] Drake.<sup>70</sup> Those dam'd rascals here would ruin a man if they could, for not bending the tail of a *Y* the right way. Send *me*

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<sup>68</sup>Jacob Burnet, the president of the Cincinnati Branch. At Philadelphia loans based on the Bank stock were frequently renewed by the president and cashier, without the knowledge of the rest of the board and the same practice may have obtained in Cincinnati. Cf. Catterall, p. 33.

<sup>69</sup>General James Findlay was one of the directors of the Cincinnati Branch. His brother William was governor of Pennsylvania from 1817 to 1820.

<sup>70</sup>The best life of Dr. Drake is that by Juettner, Otto, *Daniel Drake and his Followers*, Cin., 1909.



the list of Directors you made out, direct to this City, I shall get your letters.

I have not yet been able to attend to Worthingtons Law Books and have not written him since I left Chillicothe. Tell [him] I shall write him by and by.

Write me often and keep a damd good look out to Windward. Where's Piatt?

Yours

Worth.

Make such use of the *substance* of this letter as you may think proper.<sup>71</sup>

Thomas Sloo, Jr.,  
Cincinnati Ohio

XX.

GORHAM A. WORTH TO THOMAS SLOO, JR.  
[Box 29, No. 57.]

Phila[delphi]a 28 Dec[embe]r 1819.

Dear Sloo,

This is the cursedest state of things that ever existed. I hate *suspence* as I hate the *devil*. Tis Damnation all over! I can neither sit still, stand still, go on nor stop.

Now do you know that the only part of this letter worth a d—n, is the *Postscript*? and do you know that this same post-script will not be written these 6 hours?

In plain English for I hate ambiguity, the great and mighty, the all knowing and all imporant, wise, vast, splendid, and consequential Directory of the Bank of the U[nited] States, are this moment deliberating whether they shall acknowledge that "*they* (or *myself*)" have been *wrong*.<sup>72</sup>

I think it is *very easy* to imagine which way the balance will incline, *pride*, *hatred*, *malice*, will I think overpower, the *still*

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<sup>71</sup>On the next day Worth sends the following brief message to Sloo (Box 29, No. 56): "Dear Sloo If you have done nothing on the subject of my last letter, *keep it to yourself* and do nothing till you hear from me again. The die is not yet cast, Tomorrow determining It. G. A. Worth Phi[ladelphi]a Dec[embe]r 1819."

<sup>72</sup>This refers to the previous action of the directors in removing Worth.



*small Voice of Justice*, and even *Interest* and *policy*, all powerful as they are, in the general concerns of life, will I am afraid in this instance give way to their more impetuous neighbours.

There may be a delight in the Idea and attempt to *ruin others*, But it must be a devilish kind of delight, and a queer sort of a fellow that could relish it. Still there is a great, and perhaps *ruling*, disposition in the Bank of the U[nited] States to *justify* rather than *retract*. Yet let me do them justice, and not be guilty of the crime which I impute to others—there are in the present Board of Directors, several Gentlemen of great respectability, liberality, talent and honourable feeling.<sup>73</sup>

Need I tell you that those men are my friends? I need not, but you must know that they are (like our Friend the General) always in the Minority!<sup>74</sup>

The *Bell rings*, I go to Dinner with what appetite I have  
G. A. Worth

6 O Clock, P. M.

P. S.

All is lost! Postponed again till *Friday*. I set out tomorrow for Washington, But you may direct to me *here* for I shall return again in a few days. Say nothing as coming from *me*, do not agitate anything in your board on my acc[oun]t, *feel your way*, and let me know how or what they think. It is *possible*, I may yet be restored, but not *probable*. I shall publish nothing until after Jan[uar]y. I have been advised to the course I have pursued. *Amen! for the present.*<sup>75</sup>

W.

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<sup>73</sup>Perhaps Worth refers to the minority who had also served under the former régime. In Jan. 1819, fourteen new directors had been elected out of a total membership of twenty-five. Cf. Catterall, p. 78.

<sup>74</sup>Probably General William Henry Harrison whose speeches and general legislative career illustrate this characterization.

<sup>75</sup>Despite Worth's pessimism, one of the last acts of the board of directors, before proceeding to the election of a new board was to reinstate Worth in his position as cashier of the Cincinnati Branch. At the same time they adopted a much more stringent set of rules for the conduct of affairs in the branch banks, one of which was that no cashier or subordinate officer should be allowed to speculate upon or traffic in the stock of the Bank. Cf. *Liberty Hall*, Jan. 19 and 21, 1820.





GORHAM A. WORTH TO THOMAS SLOO, JR.

[Box 29, No. 58.]

Office Bank U[nited] States

Cincinnati 2d Aug[ust] 1820

My dear Sloo,

How far you are from a Post Office I know not, nor can I guess how long it will be before this letter reaches you.<sup>78</sup> But unless I make an effort at a correspondence I may not hear of or from you these seven years, yet I can not believe you are altogether indifferent as to what passes in this once *glorious* but now *crestfallen* City.

All things are changed, the rich have become poor, and the poor distrust, one universal state of embarrassment exists; tis want, and fear and prosecution and suspicion and terror and dismay and bankruptcy and pauperism on all sides and on all hands.<sup>79</sup>

The wealthiest are considered as ruined, and security by mortgage or Judgment required from men who would have spurned the proposal and the proposer with disdain and contempt, 2 years ago.

The Bank of the U[nited] States has become seriously alarmed for the safety of its debt in this quarter, and not without reason. It is "*save himself who can.*" Mr Wilson<sup>78</sup> the new Cashier of the Bank of the U[nited] States has been here these 3 weeks and may for ought I *know* stay 3 weeks longer.

His Object is "*Security and Interest*", and no one is exempted from the terms. If a man owes 20,000 Doll[ar]s he is considered as *ruined* though he may be worth 100,000 Dol[lar]s in good real estate. Property in this City Sir will come down to the Old prices of 10 years ago. Piatts<sup>79</sup> 40,000 dollar lot

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<sup>78</sup>Sloo had already left Cincinnati for Illinois, probably in May or June, 1820.

<sup>77</sup>For an account of the financial panic which Cincinnati was then experiencing cf. Greve, Ch. XXIII.

<sup>78</sup>Thomas Wilson. See Notes 60 and 61.

<sup>79</sup>*Liberty Hall* for Feb. 4, 1820 contains a statement signed by the leading firms of the city that they will not accept the paper money issued by John H. Piatt & Co. because it is not on a par with the paper of the City banks.



bought of St Clair would not at the present moment bring 2000 doll[ar]s; real estate has had its day in this quarter, and those who have built upon that foundation (and are in debt) have literally *built upon the sand*.<sup>80</sup>

Where in the name of the Devil then do *I stand*? My House and little farm are not considered by Mr. Wilson as good security for more than 3 or or 4 thousand dollars! My Kane debt is gone to h—ll! All that I have received or am likely to receive, Mr Olcott tells me is not worth 500 Dollars

This is a gloomy state of things, but this is not all, the Bank will attribute our *losses here* to the bad management of the office, and my salary will, I am told, be reduced, and at least 2 of the clerks dismissed as *useless*. It is thought too by ——— that the Business of the Office will be reduced to any agency and that other managers and agents will be appointed.<sup>81</sup>

But enough of this. I would rather talk about my Illinois and America<sup>82</sup> lands, though the thought of them gives me the horrors.

If there is a prospect or a possibility of selling those land lots etc., for Godsake *sell* them! I will confirm and convey:

All my *right title Interest* to and for, of and from those cursed lands and will gladly sell for the simple amount of what I originally paid, throwing Interests and costs to the devil.

By an exchange of paper credit may be had for a long time. It is a bargain for somebody; the little Chain<sup>83</sup> farm is worth the money or very nearly. I have no title *yet* to the America property. I have written Major Langham,<sup>84</sup> but, it seems, to

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<sup>80</sup>The later marvelous advance in real estate in Cincinnati enabled the Bank to escape serious loss in its western operations. Cf. Catterall, p. 67.

<sup>81</sup>The Cincinnati Branch was withdrawn in October, 1820, and re-established in 1825. Cf. Catterall, pp. 79, 398.

<sup>82</sup>America, Ill. was a settlement made by Henry L. Webb and Dr. William M. Alexander on the Ohio about ten miles from its junction with the Mississippi. It was the forerunner of the later Cairo. Cf. Lansing, *Hist. of Alexander and Pulaski Cos.*

<sup>83</sup>Little Chain was on the Ohio about five miles below Ft. Massac and about 25 miles from the junction with the Mississippi. Caledonia, also mentioned in Worth's letters lies below and nearer America. Cf. Cumings, S. *The Western Pilot*, 1832, pp. 68, 69.

<sup>84</sup>Probably S. E. Langham. Cf. Heitman, p. 399.



no purpose. Glen<sup>85</sup> is yet absent. I gave Doct[or] Alexander<sup>86</sup> you know full power to sell, but have not heard from him nor your honor since you left us.

They (the lawyers) are abusing Judge Torrence in the Inquisitor<sup>87</sup> most scandalously; Baum is not *quite crazy* nor Burnet reduced to an *absolute skeleton*. Even the Gen[era]l<sup>88</sup> *looks blue*, and biting his finger nails. a thousand of your old friends are in a cursed quandary, and none more so perhaps than your *old inmate*, (?) the abused, routed, restored and at present *sub Cashier*.<sup>89</sup> God save the people! *This year and part of the last*, I should not like to live over again. I think I would rather throw down the Commission of life than bear it with its present pains.

Dam the Banks, and the Witch that begat them! I have a great mind to fall too and Curse them as bad as Obadiah was cursed for tying the knots, But you know I hate swearing.

Let me hear from you and let me have your opinion relative to the prospect of selling those lands of ours, relative to America, Webb,<sup>90</sup> Alexander business, Farming, in short relative to whatever concerns me or yourself. Now, having become temperate, let me ask how Mrs Sloo is pleased with her new cottage and new fields? I pray God, that she and you, and all those in whom either of you have any interest or affection may enjoy good

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<sup>85</sup>Evidently on his extended western expedition with Fowler. Cf. Coues, Elliot, *The Journal of Jacob Fowler*. Hugh & James Glenn appear in *Liberty Hall* for Feb. 11, 1820 as advertisers of the steamboat *Vulcan* which leaves Cincinnati for New Orleans.

<sup>86</sup>William M. Alexander advertises in *Liberty Hall* for Nov. 10, 1819 that he has established a commission ware house at America for the transaction of all sorts of commission business and the supplying of steamboats.

<sup>87</sup>These attacks begin in *The Inquisitor and Cincinnati Advertiser* for July 18, 1820, under the pseudonym "Constitution". There was some question about the legality of Torrence's election some 18 months before.

<sup>88</sup>Both General Harrison and General Findlay were extensively engaged in financial operations then going on in Cincinnati and both were seriously crippled thereby.

<sup>89</sup>Though Worth's mission of the previous December had been successful so far as retaining his connection with the Cincinnati Branch was concerned, he lost his position when the branch was discontinued.

<sup>90</sup>For H. L. Webb cf. Box 28, No. 26 and Worth's letters, *passim*. He is mentioned in Edwards, N. W., *The Edwards Papers*.



health. You see I was determined to take myself into the pale of the prayer.

I intended to have written before now, to my sober and sincere and rational friend your Mother,<sup>91</sup> and to my young and I hope happy friend Madam, but these are times of peril and dismay, acts of friendship, of gratitude, of courtesy are postponed. My memory however is good, and while it lasts you and yours shall have a place in it.

God Bless you

Worth<sup>92</sup>

Thomas Sloo, Jr,  
Shawnee Town  
Illinois.

## XXII.

### MINUTES OF THE MEETINGS OF THE ILLINOIS CANAL COMMISSIONERS FEBRUARY 18, 1823 TO SEPTEMBER 10, 1824. [Box 36, No. 14.]

Vandalia February 18th, 1823.

At a meeting of the Canal Commissioners an election was holden, for a president, which resulted in the choice of Thomas Sloo Jun.,<sup>93</sup> it was ordered that T. M. Smith,<sup>94</sup> act as secretary to the Board.

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<sup>91</sup>This reference as well as others in succeeding letters show that Sloo was not left an orphan at an early age as has previously been stated. Cf. Snyder, *loc. cit.* p. 202.

<sup>92</sup>Apropos of the general financial condition of Worth, he states in the postscript that his wife and children have gone to New York City to remain until he gets free of his financial difficulties. Later he follows them there, as his letters show.

<sup>93</sup>Letters to be published in the succeeding number of this *Quarterly* will show that in 1822 Sloo was elected to the Illinois senate, representing the counties of Hamilton and Jefferson, and that in 1823 he was appointed one of the board of five commissioners to consider the ways and means for constructing a canal to join Lake Michigan and the Illinois River. Cf. Snyder, *loc. cit.* p. 203.

<sup>94</sup>Theophilus W. Smith was prominent politician and judge of Illinois and actively engaged with the State Bank. Later his banking operations were subjected to an investigation by Governor Ninian Edwards and still later he narrowly escaped impeachment for his course as state judge. Cf. Davidson and Stuvé, *Hist. of Ill.* pp. 339, 368; Ford, *Hist. of Ill.* pp. 64, 66.





Vandalia February 1823.

The Board met pursuant to adjournment, letters directed to Benjamin Wright, and James Geddes, requesting them to communicate, on what terms, they will act, as engineers to the Board, were read and adopted.

ORDERED that the President be authorized to conclude an arrangement, with either Benjamin Wright, Esq<sup>95</sup> of Rome, New York, or James Geddes<sup>96</sup> of Geddesburgh, New York, to act as Civil Engineers to the Board, *provided* the sum to be allowed for the services to be performed does not exceed fifteen hundred dollars, in good funds, or specie.

At a meeting of the Board of Canal Commissioners June 10th 1823. Present,

Thomas Sloo Jr, President	
E. J. West	} Members
Erastus Brown, and	
T. W. Smith	

The letters of Benjamin Wright, and James Geddes Esquairs having been read, in which they decline acting as engineers to the Board, for the reasons therein expressed,

It was ORDERED, that Samuel D. Lockwood Esq<sup>97</sup> be authorized, as the agent of this Board, to enter into a contract under the direction of this Board, with an engineer to explore and survey the route of the proposed canal to connect the waters of Lake Michigan with the Illinois River, with estimates of the probable expence thereof, and that this Board will ratify, whatever engagements he may enter into in pursuance of this authority.

A letter of instructions was then read as follows,

Samuel D. Lockwood Esq<sup>r</sup>

Sir,

The Board of Commissioners have appointed you their agent, for the purpose of procuring an engineer of character

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<sup>95</sup>For Benjamin Wright cf. Hulbert, *Hist. Highways*, XIV, pp. 109, 115, 180.

<sup>96</sup>For James Geddes cf. Lanman, *Dict. of Congress*, p. 149. He was chief engineer for the Ohio Canal and later was associated with the Chesapeake and Ohio and Pennsylvania Canals. Cf. Drake and Mansfield, *Cincinnati in 1826*, p. 18, and Atwater, Caleb, *Sketches of Ohio*, pp. 263, 274.

<sup>97</sup>Samuel D. Lockwood received two complimentary votes for senator in 1823, and was also later an associate justice of the state supreme court. Cf. *Edwards Papers*, pp. 204, 296.



and skill, and to enter into a contract with him, to survey and locate the line of the proposed canal to connect the waters of Lake Michigan with the Illinois River. You are herewith furnished with a letter on the subject, to the Board of Commissioners of the New York canal, who will doubtless afford you every possible information to enable you to make a judicious selection. You will also call on Messrs Geddes and Wright, to whom the Board have written some time since, under the expectation that an arrangement might have been made with one of them. they have declined, but offer their friendly aid in promoting generally the object in contemplation. You will be guided in your selection by the joint information of those gentlemen, recollecting, how important it is that the selection should be of a character, to insure the the utmost confidence, in the talents and practical skill of the persons chosen. The great interests of the State involved in the measure, the absolute necessity for the utmost accuracy in the proposed survey, and the consequences which would result to the state, and the character of those immediately concerned, should it not be prosecuted with the most peculiar care and circumspection, have doubtless presented themselves to your consideration, and will, we are persuaded, have their influence on your judgment, in the choice you should make in connection with your own feelings on this subject.

It is desirable that the engineers engaged should arrive at Edwardsville, in this state (the point from which it is proposed to set out) as early as the 15th of Sep[tembe]r next if possible, or ceartainly by the 26th of the month, as it is the desire and intention of the Commissioners to commence, and complete the survey this fall, if possible.

You will impress on the mind of the gentleman employed, the necessity of promptness, and that this season of the year presents the only favourable time for the prosecution of the work. You are authorized to offer for this service to the engineer, a sum not exceeding ten dollars, per day, while actually engaged in the prosecution of the work, and two hundred dollars for his expences in coming and returning to the place of his residence, but you will be aware, at the same time, how important it is, that one should be had for a less sum, *provided* his talents are equal to others. It is not however the wish of the Board by this suggestion to hazard in the least the object, by pressing this



consideration, and rather than be defeated, you may add one hundred dollars more; and it will be understood that during the prosecution of his work his subsistence and necessary assistance will be furnished to him free of charge. Believing that your own good sense will, under the advice of the gentlemen, with whom you will confer, enable you to make a proper selection, they entrust you with the utmost confidence, in the management thereof. For your services you will receive a reasonable compensation. You will apprise the Board by the earliest opportunity of your progress in this business, and in the event of concluding an arrangement, forward duplicate letters of advice by mail, and private conveyance if practicable. One directed to the President of the Board, at Shawney Town, One to Capt[ain] Alexander,<sup>98</sup> Golconda Pope County, and one to the other commissioners at Edwardsville.

*Ordered* that a letter be addressed to the Board of Canal Commissioners of the State of New York, requesting their assistance in the selection of an engineer.

*Ordered* that William H. Hopkins be appointed secretary to the Board; his compensation to be hereafter fixed by the Board.

*Ordered* that the President address a letter to the secretary at War,<sup>99</sup> requesting his aid in furnishing, certain materials for the use of the Commissioners, and other friendly aids, from the commanding officer at the Post at Chicago.

*Ordered* that on the receipt of information from Mr Lockwood that, an engineer is employed that Erastus Brown, E. J. West and T. W. Smith be authorized to contract for the necessary supplies for the expedition, and to engage a surveyor, and the necessary hands to accompany the commissiiners, in the performance of their duties.

*Ordered*, that the President be requested to communicate with the Governors of Indiana, and Ohio, on the subject of the Maumee communication with the Lake Michigan and Waubash River.<sup>100</sup> The Board adjourned until tomorrow morning.

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<sup>98</sup>Samuel Alexander, the fifth commissioner.

<sup>99</sup>John C. Calhoun was then filling that office.

<sup>100</sup>An important project often mentioned in the governor's correspondence of this period. Cf. Greene & Alvord, *Governors' Letter Books 1818-1834*, pp. 85, 86, 94.



June 11, 1823. The Board met pursuant to adjournment.

Present, Thomas Sloo Jr Pres[iden]t	} Members.
E. J. West, Erastus Brown	
T. W. Smith	

*Ordered*, that Messrs Smith, West, and Brown be authorized to draw on the Auditor of the State for the sum of One thousand dollars, for the purpose of purchasing supplies, &c &c—The Board adjo[urne]d.—

October 11th 1823.

At a meeting of the Board, called in pursuance of a Notice of the President. Present E. J. West, Erastus Brown and T. W. Smith, a letter from Col[onel] Justus Post, in answer to one addressed to him by the Commissioners, in which he expresses his willingness to accept the offer of the situation of engineer to the Board, was read, and the propositions of Col[onel] Post accepted (see his proposition.)

*Ordered* that the residue of the funds in the hands of the State Treasurer be drawn for.<sup>101</sup> A letter from the Hon[orab]l<sup>e</sup> DeWitt Clinton, of the 28th July 1823, was received and read. The Board Adjo[urne]d.

At a meeting of the Board of Canal Commissioners held on the 10th Sep[tember] 1824<sup>102</sup>

Present

Thos Sloo Ju[nio]r  
Erastus Brown  
Emanl J West  
T. W. Smith

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<sup>101</sup>In accordance with this resolution we find the following (Box 36, No. 15): "Edwardsville 11th October 1823 E. C. Berry Esq Auditor of the State of Illinois, Sir Please to issue a warrant on the Treasurer of the State of Illinois, for the [sum] of One thousand Dollars payable to Theophilus W. Smith, or bearer, pursuant to the provisions of an Act of the Legislature of this State, entitled an act to provide for the improvement of the internal navigation of this State, approved feby 14th 1823. Eman[ue]l J. West, Erastus Brown, T. W. Smith, Canal Commissioners."

<sup>102</sup>This meeting occurred as a result of the following communication (Box 28, No. 29): "Edwardsville 10th August 1824 Dear Sir, Now that the storm is o'er, I have to urge upon you the necessity of taking a Jaunt to Edwardsville, for the purpose of arranging our business for a trip north, we have but little time to go upon, and expedition will be necessary. You have no doubt heard of my defeat and the defeat of the main question; we are beaten easy. I hope you will not fail to be here, we have extensive political arrangements to make."





After discussing various subjects connected with the expedition, and adopting certain preparatory measures, the Board adjourned until Monday next.<sup>103</sup>

### XXIII.

ERASTUS BROWN AND EMAN[UE]L J. WEST<sup>103</sup> TO  
THOMAS SLOO, JR.  
(Box 3, No. 7)

(Alton, Ill., Feb[rua]ry 17th 1824)

Sir.

A few days past we were fav[ore]d with a communication from the Secre[tary] to the board of Canal Commissioners, acquainting us that it was your wish to be informed, if we had returned from our expedition to the Lake, and what has been the result of our examination.

Agreeable to your request, we beg leave to give you the outlines of what we have effected, and as a detailed account would be more than our letter could be made to contain, we flatter ourselves that this will be satisfactory to you, assuring you as we do that we are ready at any time to give you a detailed history on any particular point or points relative to the duty we have undertaken.

The Commissioners and Engineer left Alton on the 17th of Oct<sup>r</sup> last, and proceeded in as direct a route, to the foot of the falls of the Illinois River as the situation of the country would admit, and the public good required; from thence we meander'd to the Illinois on the S. E. bank, to the junction of the La Pliene and Kankakee (where the Illinois first takes its name), from thence we followed the La Pliene to the ford near the old established portage about 14 miles from Chicago and 40 from the

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<sup>103</sup>In 1825 Judge McRoberts appointed West as clerk of the circuit court of Madison County, in place of Joseph Conway and by this act caused the legislature to pass the judge-breaking law of 1827. Cf. Dav. and Stuvé, 343 and Box 11, No. 4, which is to be printed in the next issue of the *Quarterly*. West espoused the defeated side and in connection with Judge Theophilus W. Smith had edited the *Illinois Republican*, an ephemeral sheet devoted to the pro-slavery interest. Cf. F. W. Scott, *Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois, 1814-1879*, p. 166. Sloo seems to have had intimate friends upon the pro-slavery side, even if he personally opposed the Convention.



junction of the La Plaine and Kankakee, and from thence along the Chicago river to the village situate immediately on the bank of Lake Michigan, and after exploring along the banks of the Lake and the river Chicago we made preparations [and did] descend by the La Plaine Illinois and Mississippi rivers to Alton, after an absence in all of 49 days. On our way up we were particularly carefull in examining the banks of the rivers and the surface between the water and bluff, and on our return by water we obtained a perfect knowledge of the river, its banks and bottom. From our observations dureing the journey, we are led to the conclusion, that an excavation to unite the two waters by a navigable canal is completely practicable. Nature has been as prolific in her gifts to Illinois in this particular as to any other section of country, for She has left no obstruction to the construction of canals from Lake Michigan to the foot of the falls of the Illinois River; to which point we (at present) are of opinion the Canal must extend, for from the ford on the La Plaine, to the foot of the falls there is a succession of Rappids with intermediate deep places of from 1 to 8 miles in lenth, which if used for navigation would reduce the extent of excavation to about 35 miles, and if, the line of canal be run the whole distance without using the bed of the river the probable extent would then be 80 miles.

The Summit-level between Lake Michigan and the La Plaine River does not exceed 7 feet, the la plaine would make a good feeder, yet the presumption is the Lake will be used for that purpose. From the foot of the falls of the Ill[inoi]s River to its mouth there is every appearance of its affording at all times, a good Navigation.<sup>104</sup>

We will in a few days have the pieasure of making an addi-

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<sup>104</sup>The report submitted by these commissioners was upon request of the legislature transmitted by Governor Coles to President Monroe and to the Illinois delegation in Congress. Of this latter Daniel P. Cook was especially active in behalf of the desired internal improvement. He however succeeded in changing the plan to construct it by a private corporation in favor of public construction, and in March, 1827, Congress granted the project some 224,000 acres of public land. A new survey was then ordered by Governor Edwards on the ground that the first was done by men without sufficient "practical experience." Cf. Greene and Alvord, *loc. cit.*, p. XXVI and 74.



tional Communication to you relative to the business of the board, meanwhile we are with high respect,

Sir, Your obt. servants

Erastus Brown}  
Eman<sup>l</sup> J. West}

Thomas Sloo, Jun<sup>r</sup> Esq<sup>r</sup>,  
McLeansborough  
Hamilton Co., Illinois.

Commissioners

#### XXIV.

JAMES GEDDES TO THOMAS SLOO, JR.

(Box 9, No. 33.)

March 20th 1825

Dear Sir

I have lately seen a small notice in a Newspaper of your explorings between Lake Michigan and Illinois River for a canal. It is so much more favorable than what you had taught me to expect in your communication to me two years ago, that I have my curiosity very much excited to see your late Report. Gov[ernor] Brown late Senator from Ohio<sup>105</sup> writes me that he had seen one of your Reports at Washington but could not procure one to send me. I hope Sir, it may meet your feelings and convenience to send me one, the favor would be very gratefully remembered.

How far Sir, can Steam Boats ascend the Illinois River? If a canal could be made to pass Steam Boats from Lake Michigan to the head of Steam Boat navigation on the Illinois River, so that we could send a steamboat from the west end of our Erie canal to St. Louis, I think many of our New York capitalists would be anxious to vest their funds in your canal.

Sending the water of Lake Michigan through the Mississippi to the ocean is surely taking hold of one of the great features of our country.

Accept Sir, the assurances of my best wishes for your personal welfare and the success of your project.

Please Sir direct to me

Jas Geddes

Geddes Post Office

Onondago County

N. Y.

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<sup>105</sup>Ethan Allen Brown is mentioned in Lanman, p. 55. He was governor of Ohio from 1818 to 1822, U. S. senator from 1822 to 1825.



## XXV.

JAMES BROWN TO THOMAS SLOO, JR.

(Box 3, No. 13.)

New York 3 April 1827

My Dear Sir

Yours of 3d March 1826 I received in course and was in hopes that ere this you would have commenced with the redemption of your lands, every now and then the concern at Balt[imor]e ask information on the subject, you alone can enable me to give them the satisfactory information they want, and as this debt arose from our personal intimacy I hope you will exert yourself and make a beginning if you cannot accomplish it all at once.<sup>106</sup>

Here matters going on pretty much as usual, we get our share of business both sides the Atlantic and have no reason to complain. . . . .

I was told you had offered yourself as a candidate for representative in Congress from your State but not seeing your name last winter and not hearing from you I must have been misinformed.<sup>107</sup> I should like to hear from you and your prospects as to public life perhaps you look to Governor I dont know but I have heard some hints of that. Let your wishes or endeavours be what they may, taking it for granted they will be exerted in an honorable upright manner and that your country's good as well as your own will be promoted thereby, you have my hearty wishes for your success, here private life is all I aim at, as to politics they give me no trouble, the *Inns* be they of what party they may, are pretty much alike.

Who knows but that in a few years you will be coming from the West in Steam Carriages on Railways at 10-14 miles per Hour, you no doubt hear what is going on in Baltimore the

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<sup>106</sup>This reference and one in a letter of Archibald Irwin of Dec. 5. 1826 (Box 12, No. 5) would seem to indicate that Sloo's finances had not yet been placed in a satisfactory condition. This fact coupled with his defeat for governor may have determined him to seek a wider sphere of activity in New Orleans, whither he shortly removed.

<sup>107</sup>Possibly this is a reference to Sloo's senatorial aspirations in 1824, or is a mistaken report of his gubernatorial race.





projected Railroad from thence to the Ohio.<sup>108</sup> I am told our George<sup>109</sup> set the matter in motion by collecting the information and when he had enough to satisfy himself called a meeting of about a Dozen of the largest property-holders at his house who on investigating the matter and being satisfied are about carrying the thing into effect. This will bring Cincinnati (as to time) within 60-70 miles and all other parts of the West near in proportion. Pennsylvanians are so jealous of the undertaking (see- that it takes the Western trade to Baltimore in place of Phil[adelphi]<sup>a</sup>) that they have refused to grant them permission to run any part of their road thro' their state unless they will make one end of it at *Pittsburg* this they will not do—Wheeling was contemplated but if they cannot touch Pennsylvania on the route [it is?] probable about Marietta will be the point. *Pennsylvania that has so much talked of internal improvement to object to running such a road thro' their territory shows their SELFISHNESS.* Fortunately they can do without them and such unlooked for opposition only rouses the energies and exertions of the projectors and will cause difficulties to be overcome that might under other circumstances have been tho[ugh]<sup>t</sup> overwhelming.

I had no idea of writing such an epistle but when I get on Rail Road I hardly know where to stop. As however my paper is nearly filled and its bed time I must conclude and subscribe myself

Your friend

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<sup>108</sup>For the Baltimore and Ohio railroad project cf. McMaster *V*, p. 144.

<sup>109</sup>George Brown was an active promoter in the project and was afterward Treasurer of the B. & O. R. R. Cf. Hulbert *Historic Highways XIII*, pp. 95, 98.



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Arranged and Edited by

ISAAC JOSLIN COX,

Assistant Professor of History, University of Cincinnati

CINCINNATI, OHIO  
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# Selections from the Torrence Papers, VII

EARLY ILLINOIS POLITICS, AS ILLUSTRATED BY THE  
SLOO LETTERS.

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## FOREWORD.

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The following letters of Thomas Sloo, Jr. supplement those published in the preceding *Quarterly*. While the latter was devoted to certain commercial undertakings in which Mr. Sloo took an active part, these describe political conditions in Illinois during the first decade of its state history, wherein he also achieved prominence.

In the two numbers are included nearly every letter relating to Mr. Sloo that the Torrence Collection contains. While there are a few still unpublished that refer to intimate family and personal matters, and while doubtless a more minute examination of the Torrence Papers may yield some other casual reference to him or his family, yet we may reasonably infer that this hitherto used source of information regarding one who has been called a "forgotten statesman of Illinois" is practically exhausted. The work has been worth while for it has rescued from almost total oblivion an interesting minor character in early western history.

Thomas Sloo, Jr. reached Illinois in 1820, when he was thirty years old. He came into the state hampered by an unfortunate commercial experience in Cincinnati, but at the same time he enjoyed the prestige derived from friendship with the leading men of Ohio and the favor of William H. Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury and an aspirant for the presidency. This naturally brought him into friendship with Edward Coles and Jesse B. Thomas, leading Crawfordites, and at this same time into enmity with Ninian Edwards and his party, who favored Calhoun. The political situation was still further complicated by the fact that Thomas and Coles were arrayed on opposite sides in regard to the issue of slavery in Illinois. Sloo's position towards the calling of a state convention to decide this question seems to be an uncertain one. It has been supposed that he favored the calling of the convention, but the letters given in this





number all represent him as opposed to the introduction of slavery into Illinois, and he never, even in his later life in Louisiana, owned slaves himself. Possibly Thomas's failure to support Sloo for the governorship in 1826 may be due to the latter's attitude in 1824. About all that one can safely say regarding politics in Illinois during this period is that political combinations seem to be formed upon a purely personal or commercial basis. Yet one perceives in the letters of John McLean and James Hall, herewith given, that in the years between 1824 and 1828 the political nuclei were beginning to form, from which the later Jackson and Anti-Jackson parties developed.

Sloo passed rapidly through the course of minor office holding as indicated by his friend Worth (see page 63) and in 1826 presented himself as candidate for governor against Ninian Edwards. Were it not for Sloo's political and social connections outside the state, as well as his business and political standing within its limits, such an act would seem unduly presumptuous. As it was, although Edwards was one of the most widely known men in the West, Sloo was beaten only by a narrow plurality, and that too with a third candidate in the field. When on coming into office, Edwards ineffectually attempted a series of graft investigations, in order to make political capital for himself, many who had not supported Sloo, regretted the fact.

After his defeat Sloo manfully refused to hamper his successful rival by contesting the election or continuing to exercise control over the department of the militia organization to which Governor Coles had appointed him. Letters of this period show that the financial obligations incurred during his residence in Cincinnati were still resting heavily upon him. Accordingly he removed to New Orleans, where a wider field of mercantile activity awaited him. This change must not be regarded as the desertion of political combat in the hour of defeat, for his prospects of future political success were good and the career of more than one of his intimates seems to promise a like measure of political honor for himself. Phillips had gone to Tennessee and Thomas to Ohio, after political defeat, and even his rival, Edwards, once planned to migrate to Texas, so that he does not suffer in comparison with his contemporaries. His career demonstrated that Illinois was at that time pre-eminently the field for young and ambitious politicians, and among these he occupies a noteworthy and honorable position, which it is a pleasure to assist in re-establishing.

I. J. C.



I.

JONATHAN S. FINDLAY<sup>1</sup> TO JAMES FINDLAY  
(Box 8, No. 24.)

Kaskaskia, May 26, [1818]

Brother James,

Our passage down the Ohio was rather tedious and irksome in consequence of head winds. We landed at Shawnee town on Monday the 25[ult.?] We shipped our goods round for St Louis on Wednesday, and on Thursday set out home, where we arrived last night. We lie by to day to rest ourselves and horses. The by horse is lame, and is no great things. The little one is good.

I could not sell my boat, but left her with old friend Sloo,<sup>2</sup> who was very decent.

Chambers<sup>3</sup> staid behind us at Shawnee, and I have not since seen him. I do not much regret it, as he is not of all men the most pleasant travelling companion. Coles<sup>4</sup> left us the day he landed. He worships but one idol, and that is himself. He is a 2 & ½ penny animal.

The country from Shawnee here is most miserably watered, or rather not watered at all, and a great deal of the land poor. There is some good soil.

The family all stand the journey very well, and we have got along very safely.

My writing tools are very bad, adieu

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<sup>1</sup>For references to Jonathan Findlay see Quarterly I, 66, 83; IV, 107, 128, 136. He was then on his way to settle in Missouri.

<sup>2</sup>This is Thomas Sloo, Sr., who was acting as receiver in the land office at Shawneetown. Cf. Flower, George, *History of English Settlements of Edwards County, Illinois*, pp. 50, 51, and *Official Register for 1822*, p. 49.

<sup>3</sup>Possibly Benjamin Chambers, of Dearborn County, Illinois. Cf. Reynolds, *Pioneer History of Illinois*, p. 401.

<sup>4</sup>Edward Coles, afterwards elected governor of Illinois in 1822. He spent the summer of 1818 in the state and removed thither in the following year. He had served as Madison's private secretary. Upon his arrival in the state he freed his slaves and became the most active champion of the anti-slavery party. In national politics he supported Crawford. Cf. Dav. & Stuvé, *History of Illinois*, p. 322.



## II.

### NINIAN EDWARDS<sup>5</sup> TO JAMES FINDLAY (Box 5, No. 61.)

Washington City  
Feb[ruar]y 13, 1821

Dear Sir,

I take the liberty to inclose you a copy of one of my speeches upon a subject interesting to all the States and Territories in which public lands lie.

I have not thought prudent at the pression session to jeopardize the bill<sup>6</sup> by asking for all the relief that I think justice requires, but you will see from the speech itself that I consider further relief both expedient and just. To obtain it however, Ohio must take the lead and therefore I should be gratified if my speech should be republished in your state.

If the bill should finally pass it must greatly enhance the value of the land offices, for as payments by certificates of relinquishment will require the same labor as payments in cash the same per cent ought to be, and I have no doubt will be allowed as was done in a case precisely similar in Illinois. More payments will be made in this way than could be expected in cash even in prosperous times.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>Ninian Edwards was at that time one of the two senators from Illinois, having been elected to that place when the state was admitted in 1818. He had previously served as governor of the territory. For an account of his career consult Washburne, E. B., *The Edwards Papers*, and Edwards, Ninian W., *History of Illinois*.

<sup>6</sup>The bill to which he referred was one to permit purchases of public lands prior to July 1, 1820, to relinquish a part of their holding, and to have the money already paid upon the whole applied to the payment of the part still retained. Edwards' speech may be found in the *Annals 16 Cong., 2d Sess.*, pp. 161-178. A speech by Jesse B. Thomas, the other senator from Illinois, precedes that of Edwards.

<sup>7</sup>Findlay was then the receiver in the Cincinnati Land Office.



### III.

JOSEPH PHILLIPS<sup>8</sup> TO THOMAS SLOO,<sup>9</sup> JR.

[Box 18, No. 68.]

Covington [Ill] Decr 31st 1821

Dear Sir

Since my name was announced to the people as a candidate for the Government<sup>10</sup> various rumours and reports have reached this section of country, some saying you are all against me, others that you are divided. Whether I am at liberty or not to set you down on the list of my friends, you will I hope with that candour which is due to one who knows not how to dissemble in calling himself your friend state to me the true feeling that exists with your people relative to this matter.

Judging from the number of candidates talked of in this quarter,<sup>11</sup> I should have much to fear, but relying upon public sentiment I feel every confidence of success: and am disposed to ascribe the multiplicity of names used to a mere political manouever, [sic] however one of the gentlemen talked of has taken the field and offered his name to the public, which you have no doubt long since seen.

Like every man when placed before the public for preferment I have my political enemies some of whom have appeared in the public prints against me. These will no doubt endeavour to impress upon the minds of the people at a distance that I cannot run in my own section of country, against the attacks of such men I must be permitted to caution my friends.

Be assured Sir if I cannot find support in my own section of

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<sup>8</sup>After a service in Illinois during the War of 1812 as captain in the regular army, Joseph Phillips filled the office of Secretary of the territory and of Chief Justice of the state supreme court. Cf. Davidson and Stuvé, *History of Illinois*, p. 300, and E. B. Washburne, *The Edwards Papers*, p. 126 note.

<sup>9</sup>Phillips spells the name as it is pronounced—"Slow."

<sup>10</sup>He was at that time candidate for governor of Illinois, upon a pro-slavery ticket.

<sup>11</sup>The contest finally narrowed down to four names. Phillips chief competitors were Edward Coles, who was successful by a plurality of fifty votes, and Thomas C. Brown, who likewise represented the pro-slavery element. James B. Moore "also ran." Cf. Dav. & Stuvé, p. 309.





country I will never be guilty of the indelicacy of asking patronage abroad.<sup>12</sup>

Some men have already ventured to assail me on principals altogether foreign to the duties of the office to which I aspire.

Having ever felt a strong repugnance against succeeding in any thing, upon mere questions or hobbies, I feel no disposition to give any other answer to these men than the bare declaration of my profound abhorrence to any innovation upon our form of government incompatible with the wishes of the people.

Believe me when I say, I am incapable of exercising the powers of any office with which the people may honor me beyond its legitimate sphere.

Please let me hear from you. Health and felicity to yourself and family.

Thomas Sloo Esquire

Hamilton County Illinois

#### IV

THOMAS SLOO, JR. TO JOSEPH PHILLIPS.

(Box 21, No. 41.)

[April 9<sup>th</sup>, 1822]

Dear Sir

I had not the pleasure of receiving your polite and friendly letter of the 31st December last, until the 9th of March ulto, and should have replied to it at an earlier period, had I not understood that you were then on an election tour through the eastern part of the state, and thought it highly probable that I should have the pleasure of seeing you at my house. I have since been informed, that you had left Shawanoetown on your return to the west, sometime since, consequently, have concluded that you do not intend to take Hamilton<sup>13</sup> in your route.

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<sup>12</sup>The vote in Washington County in 1822 was 43 for Coles, 3 for Brown, and 200 for Phillips. This information is derived from lists furnished by Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, Secretary of the Illinois State Historical Society.

<sup>13</sup>Hamilton County, Illinois, of which McLeansboro was the county seat, was organized by the state legislature, February 15, 1821. Mr. Sloo was the first county surveyor and in this capacity platted the county seat, where he resided, combining the occupations of merchant and farmer. Cf. article by Dr. J. F. Snyder in *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the year 1903*, p. 203.



In relation to the feelings of our citizens, on the subject of the Gubanatorial election, I can form but a very incorrect idea, as but little has yet been excited. My own opinion is that if Judge Brown<sup>14</sup> had not come out, you would have got a majority in the county, but at this time, I think there is no doubt but what the majority will be in his favor. However great changes may take place between this and the first Monday in August.<sup>15</sup>

V.

ANONYMOUS TO JESSE B. THOMAS<sup>16</sup>

[Box 26, No. 29]

[Vandalia, July 29, 1822]

Sir

Within you will see a bond executed by yourself some few years since, and this is to inform you that if you do attempt to influence a *vote* against Mr Cook<sup>17</sup> during your stay in Vandalia, you may expect to see it in handbill for the purpose of bringing

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<sup>14</sup>Thomas C. Brown [or Browne] was elected an associate justice of the state supreme court in 1818 and remained there about thirty years. He resided in Shawneetown. Cf. Dav. & Stuvé, p. 300.

<sup>15</sup>In the election Coles received 2810 votes, Phillips, 2760, Brown, 2543, and Moore, 522. The division in the ranks of the pro-slavery party gave Coles the victory. This event has been called the turning point in the history of the state. The later close relations between Sloo and Coles in state and national politics would seem to indicate that the former supported the latter despite his non-committal letter to Phillips. Phillips returned to Tennessee shortly after his defeat. Cf. Dav. & Stuvé, p. 309; Snyder, *loc. cit.*; *Edwards Papers*, p. 126, n.

<sup>16</sup>Jesse B. Thomas, the author of the first Missouri Compromise, was then senator from Illinois and one of the state pro-slavery leaders. For a sketch of his career, particularly with reference to the incident which gave occasion to the subjoined bond, cf. Ford, Thomas, *History of Illinois*, p. 30; *Edwards Papers*, *passim*; Reynolds, John, *The Pioneer History of Illinois*, p. 401.

<sup>17</sup>Daniel P. Cook, one of the most brilliant and serviceable of early Illinois statesmen, was the representative in Congress from 1819 to 1827. He was then running for the second time against John McLean of Shawneetown, one of the pro-slavery party. In 1820, Cook voted against the admission of Missouri into the Union with slavery and for this was roundly abused, but was triumphantly elected over his opponent for that year, Shadrach Bond. McLean, Cook's predecessor in Congress, had voted



to the recollection of your old acquaintances your former conduct, and putting those unacquainted with you on their guard.

The sooner you leave here the better for your future prospects.

29th July 1822.

(Over)

In consideration of the members from the Illinois country voting for me in the joint meeting of both houses of the Legislature, to represent the Indiana T[erritor]y as a delegate to congress I do hereby pledge my honor to use my indevors [sic] both in and out of the house of representatives of the U[nited] S[tates] to obtain a division of the Indiana Territory so as to form a new Territory to the west of the Wabash and also to use my indevors to further *in all respects* the interests and wishes of the inhabitan-  
ce of the Illinois country conformably to the instructions that may be given me by the members from those counties<sup>18</sup>

Witness my hand this 22nd day of Oct 1808.

Jesse B. Thomas

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for the admission of Missouri, during the preliminary stages of the controversy, and he may have thought that this vote, together with his able service as speaker of the house in the second General Assembly, would enable him to triumph over his rival, but he was defeated by a vote of 4764 to 3811. McLean was subsequently twice elected to the United States senate, but like Cook died early in the midst of a prosperous career. Cf. Edwards, N. W., *History of Illinois*, Ch. XIII, for a sketch of Cook, and *Transactions of the Illinois State Hist. Soc.* 1903, p. 190-201, for a sketch of McLean. Also the *Edwards Papers*, *passim*. Cook was the son-in-law of Ninian Edwards. Of him Worth later wrote Sloo (Box 29, No. 60): "Your representative Mr. Cook has made quite a figure in Congress, and sustained himself well." Under date of Oct. 5, 1822, Calhoun wrote Edwards (Edwards, *Hist. of Ill.*, p. 493): "Cook's election has afforded much gratification. He not only has talents, but is bold and resolute."

<sup>18</sup>The Legislative Council of Indiana Territory had passed a resolution against the division of the territory, but Thomas, following his bond rather than the Council's behest, secured the law for the division of the territory in February, 1809, and shortly took up his residence therein. This action was in favor of slavery. Cf. *Indiana Historical Society Publications*, IV, p. 221, and Dunn, J. P., *Indiana*, pp. 376-379.



# VI

GORHAM A. WORTH<sup>19</sup> TO THOMAS SLOO, JR.

(Box 29, No. 59)

New York 15th Oct[ober] 1822

My dear Sir,

.....  
It gives me much pleasure to learn that you have become an important *spoke* in the *Legislative Wheel* of your State.<sup>20</sup> Your *stump speech* must have been a good one. I always thought you possessed more natural Eloquence than many publick speakers, yours is not of the loud, the empty or the declamatory species. But of that gentle persuasive and unsophisticated character, which is calculated to be *felt*, and consequently to be followed. If soundness of head, integrity of principle, kindness of heart and gentleness of temper, are considered of any value, or held in any estimation in Illinois you will become a favorite of the people.<sup>21</sup> I pray God you may be enabled to settle in a satisfactory manner all your old business, and stand from all pecuniary evils, redeemed, regenerated and disenthralled.<sup>22</sup> . . . .

I perceive by the papers that Mr Coles is elected Governor of your State, this was unexpected to *me* at least.<sup>23</sup> What has become of Thomas and Edwards?<sup>24</sup> On the subject of Politicks

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<sup>19</sup>Gorham A. Worth, formerly cashier of the Cincinnati Branch of the Second United States Bank, was then engaged in the banking business in New York City. Cf. Greve, *History of Cincinnati*, pp. 496, 527, and the other letters of this series.

<sup>20</sup>In 1822 Sloo was elected to the State Senate, representing the counties of Hamilton and Jefferson. Cf. Snyder, *loc. cit.*

<sup>21</sup>Snyder, *loc. cit.*, states that "He (Sloo) soon, by his genial disposition and uprightness of character, became one of the most popular men in that part of the state."

<sup>22</sup>The reference is to his previous unfortunate mercantile experience in Cincinnati. Both Worth and Sloo were overwhelmed by the panic conditions that prevailed in 1819 and by the subsequent action taken by the Branch of the United States Bank located at Cincinnati. See the letters published in preceding number of the *QUARTERLY*.

<sup>23</sup>See Notes 4 and 15.

<sup>24</sup>Jesse B. Thomas and Ninian Edwards were then senators from Illinois. Thomas was an active member of the pro-slavery party, but Edwards, probably because of the attitude of his son-in-law, Daniel P. Cook, who was then running for Congress, seems to have maintained





I can say nothing, except that the contest for the Presidency it is thought here will be between Crawford and Clay.<sup>25</sup> The latter will doubtless be supported by the Western and South western States, and if New York gives him her support (which is not improbable) he will be the man. What say you to this? . . .

## VII

THOMAS SLOO, JR. TO GEORGE P. TORRENCE  
[Box 21, No. 43.]

Vandalia [Illinois]  
12th Jan[uar]y 1823

Dear Judge

I had the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 13th ultimo some time since, for which I feel greatly indebted to you, as it relieved me from a great deal of anxiety and apprehension, which I felt on account of Rebecca.<sup>26</sup> I have since, received a letter from herself, and I hope all are now out of danger.

We have had a very tedious and unpleasant Session, there has been nothing but a continued scene of intrigue and electioneering. On the 9th inst we had our election for Senator and Chief Justice.<sup>27</sup> Our friend Jesse B. [Thomas] was re-elected

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a more neutral position. Edwards favored Calhoun for the presidency and Thomas, Crawford. Coles as well as Sloo belonged to the Crawford party also, and this would afford Edwards an additional reason for opposing Coles, had not he feared the effect upon Cook's candidacy. Cf. Gillespie, Joseph, *Recollections of Early Illinois and her Noted Men*, p. 14.

<sup>25</sup>Clay had considerable popularity because of his active championship of the "American System." Crawford was supported by Van Buren and the Albany Regency. Cf. Turner, *Rise of the New West*, Ch. XV, pp. 251, 255. A few months later, while writing to Sloo in regard to financial matters in which Glenn and Webb were concerned, Worth adds (Box 29, No. 60): "Will Illinois go for Crawford or for Clay? Clay *should* be your man. He is thought here to stand the best chance. This State [New York] is, *as usual*, divided. Crawford, Clay and Adams all have their friends, and tis doubtful which will receive the support of the Majority. . . ."

<sup>26</sup>Mrs. Rebecca Smith Findlay Sloo, his second wife. She was a sister of Mrs. George P. Torrence. See Handy, W. T., *Chart of the Torrence, Findlay, and allied families*.

<sup>27</sup>Thomas Reynolds served as chief justice of the state supreme court until 1825. Cf. Dav. & Stuvé, p. 329.



on the first ballot, notwithstanding every exertion was made to defeat him. His triumph is the greater, as he had, a great portion of the big folks against him: but no matter we beat them, and I hope we shall always beat them.<sup>28</sup>

The most important bill that we now have before the legislature is a bill making an appropriation for internal improvements, and which contemplates the location of a canal, from Lake Michigan to the Illinois River. It has passed the House of Representatives, and has been twice read in the Senate. It is now in the hands of a select committee, and I think its fate somewhat doubtful.<sup>29</sup>

We shall not issue any more State paper,<sup>30</sup> the convention question is very doubtful, and there will not be more than 1 or 2 votes either way.<sup>31</sup>

Please remember me kindly and affectionately to sister Mary and all friends.

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<sup>28</sup>J. C. Calhoun wrote to Ninian Edwards under date of June 12, 1822: "What is Thomas' prospect? Will you leave him out? Though he is a man of moderate talents, yet much depends upon his being left out;" and again under date of October 5, 1822: "The re-election of Thomas would have a very bad effect. You must run but one, and if necessary you ought to come to an understanding." Cf. Edwards, *Hist. of Ill.*, pp. 490, 493. For an account of the Illinois opposition to Thomas, see *Edwards Papers*, pp. 203-4.

<sup>29</sup>A board of five commissioners was appointed to consider the ways and means of constructing this canal under permission granted by the federal government. Sloo was one of these commissioners. Cf. Snyder, *loc. cit.*, and Edwards, *Hist. of Ill.*, 259. Governor Coles was strongly in favor of the construction of this canal by the state and the commission prepared a report upon this basis, which, however, was put aside temporarily in favor of the Illinois and Michigan Canal Company, chartered in 1825. Cf. Greene, E. B. and Alvord, C. W., *The Governors' Letter Books, 1818-1834*, in *Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library*, Vol. IV, p. XXIV.

<sup>30</sup>For the disastrous experiment of Illinois with a State Bank, cf. Ford, *Hist. of Ill.*, pp. 45-48.

<sup>31</sup>For an account of the method by which the requisite majority was secured in favor of submitting the question of a convention to a popular vote. Cf. Ford, p. 52ff. For a somewhat different interpretation of this incident see Flower, *Hist. of the English Settlement in Edwards County, Illinois*, p. 205 n.



## VIII.

EDWARD COLES TO THOMAS SLOO, JR.  
(Box 21, No. 44<sup>a</sup>)

Edwardsville June 30, 1823

D[ea]r Sir

In casting my eyes around to find a person well qualified for the situation, and at the same time who should be particularly pleasing to me personally, I have singled you out as the man I should prefer to appoint as an Aid-de-camp to the Commander-in-chief. I now offer you that appointment; and must request the favor of you to let me know, as soon possible, whether it will be agreeable to you, or will suit your convenience, to accept it. It confers the rank, as you know, of Colonel, but at the same time imposes the expense, not only of an equipment, but that attendant upon accompanying the Commander-in-chief whenever he reviews the Militia, which by the way I shall do next October. Whether you accept this situation or not, you will do me the justice, I trust, to believe that I derive a sincere pleasure in giving you this small testimony of that great respect and sincere regard which I have long cherished for you.

## IX.

THOMAS SLOO, JR. TO EDWARD COLES.  
(Box 21, No. 44<sup>b</sup>)

Hamilton County  
21st July 1823

Dear Sir,

I had not the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 30th ultimo, until yesterday. It would, at all times, be very gratifying and agreeable to my feelings, to be associated with you, in any way, in the performance of your Executive duties: But my present situation and engagements, will not with propriety admit of my accepting the appointment, with which you have honored me.

Believe me sir, it is with no small degree of regret, that I have to decline your polite and friendly offer, but I am one of those old fashioned fellows, who think it improper, for a man



to accept of an appointment, without a reasonable probability of having it in his power, to perform the duties of the station.

My duties as Canal commissioner, will probably call me to the head waters of the Illinois River, about the time of your first review. The winter of 1824-5, I shall have to spend at Vandalia,<sup>32</sup> which will render it inconvenient, for me to be from home the preceding fall, when it is probable, you will review the Militia of another portion of the state.

I had expected to have seen you, on my recent visit to Edwardsville, but had not that pleasure, in consequence of your departure for the south, a few days previously to my arrival.

Could you make it convenient to visit Hamilton, it would afford me great pleasure, to see you at my house, and to have an opportunity of talking over the affairs of last winter. Highly appreciating, and reciprocating, your expressions of respect and attachment,<sup>33</sup> I am, very sincerely your friend  
and Ser[van]t.

X.

ISRAEL T. CANBY<sup>34</sup> TO THOMAS SLOO, JR.

[Box 4, No. 13]

Madison [Ind.], Aug[ust] 3d 1823

Dear Sir,

Your favor of the 26th Feb. last was duly received and after considerable delay wrote an answer via Shawaneetown but as I have heard nothing from you since presume it miscarried.

Your business here with Mr. McClure<sup>35</sup> remains in statu quo He is a candidate for associate judge and very much engaged in electioneering. To-morrow is the eventful day and after the

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<sup>32</sup>Vandalia was then the capital of the State. Sloo was a member of the state senate. Cf. Snyder, *loc. cit.* 203. Worth writes (Box 29, No. 60): "But I presume your Legislative duties have absorbed all your time and attention."

<sup>33</sup>This offer by Coles would seem to indicate that Sloo supported Coles in the last election, and the next letter that he was an opponent to the call for the convention in 1824 and to the introduction of slavery into Illinois. For a contrary view cf. Snyder, *loc. cit.* 203.

<sup>34</sup>For a reference to Canby cf. QUARTERLY II, pp. 16, 22.

<sup>35</sup>Probably William McClure, the leader of the settlement at New Harmony. Cf. Smith, W. H., *Hist. of Indiana*, p. 853.





struggle is over and the mind of the Judge becomes tranquil I intend to make a heavy charge upon him and will give you the result as soon as possible. I have no doubt whatever that if you would visit us that the business could be arranged much more to our satisfaction.

You express your hostility to the introduction of slavery. On most subjects I believe I coincide with you in opinion but on this my opinions have undergone several revolutions and I now wish the slave party in your State a partial success. I would not myself advocate the principle of unconditional Slavery but as mitigated slavery I think would be beneficial to all new States and would be the most likely to eventuate in the final emancipation of the coloured race. Suppose you permit slaveholders to bring their slaves to Illinois and hold the present generation their descendants to be free at the ages of 28 and thirty one all born in the State to be registered and the master not permitted to remove them out of the State all free negroes rigidly forbidden to emigrate to the State, etc. would it not be a present advantage in enabling you to procure labourers and would the future evil be any greater than if you permit the vagrant negro population to overrun your country and remain the only free people in it.[?] I am a warm advocate of a convention in Illinois but opposed to it in Indiana. If you introduce this kind of slavery you may expect to see me a citizen in 24 hours after I hear of the decision. . . .

Thomas Sloo junr Esqr.

Findlay Place near Mc Leansboro  
Hamilton Co. Illinois.

## XI

GORHAM A. WORTH TO THOMAS SLOO, JR.  
(Box 29, No. 61.)

My Dear Sloo,

New York 18 Aug[us]t 1823

. . .<sup>38</sup> But notwithstanding all this, I am in *fact* and in *feeling* unchanged. My memory is good, honest, and tenacious of its stores. Every benefit conferred, every act of kindness, of

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<sup>38</sup>The preceding portion of the letter had been filled with personal financial details and inquiries about his lands in Illinois, particularly those in connection with the settlement of Webb and Alexander at America,



friendship, or of partiality is registered in a firm and durable character, and I stand ready to endorse the list. Among the many recorded I always find yours and Mrs Sloo's standing in bold relief; around *these names*, the lines, obligatory, of favour, of kindness and of hospitality, appear to thicken at each review.<sup>37</sup> I make the confession once for all, and believe me tis an honest one.

In politics we are waxing warm. The Presidential race is crowded with *Jockies*, *Grooms* and *Ostlers*, riding, and running, and *Gentlemen* in livery. The friends of Mr Crawford affect to be very sure and talk in a very confident strain. But judging from present appearances, I should say that *Adams* takes the lead. Clay has many friends in the western part of the State. The contest is evidently between Crawford and Clay and Adams, and it would puzzle the Devil himself to tell which is the strongest. I am for Clay, because I think it is for the interest of New York, to support him.

How comes on your Canal?<sup>38</sup> and how do you stand politically. I expect to see you Governor of Illinois yet.<sup>39</sup> If you were perfectly free from all your *old business* concerns,<sup>40</sup> you would *naturally* rise in any walk you might chose, either in Church or State. By the by let me hear what progress you have made in your settlement. . . .<sup>41</sup>

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Ill., near Cairo. In this portion he makes one suggestion of interest: "If your State paper will pay taxes, would it not be well to buy enough of it to pay three or four years ahead? I hear that it is at a Devil of a discount."

<sup>37</sup>Worth characterized Sloo's last letter thus: "It was a fine long letter in your usual easy and pleasant style."

<sup>38</sup>In the preceding letter Worth mentioned the receipt of Canal documents sent by Sloo.

<sup>39</sup>This expectation came very near being realized. See pp. 48 and 79.

<sup>40</sup>A reference to the conditions which caused Sloo's failure in Cincinnati, in 1819.

<sup>41</sup>The letter also mentions four brothers of Sloo by name and states: "Tell your father that I always think of him with feelings of respect and esteem." Dr. Snyder (*loc. cit.*, pp. 202, 206) evidently is in error in stating that Sloo was left an orphan at an early age. Worth also suggests that Sloo should consider accepting the place of cashier of the bank at Vandalia.



## XII.

GORHAM A. WORTH TO THOMAS SLOO, JR.  
(Box 29, No. 63.)

New York 14 April 1824

Dear Sloo,

I have just rec[eive]d a letter from Mr. Webb,<sup>42</sup> in which, among other pleasant things, he says he is likely to have some difficulty in getting either rent or *possession* of the Chain Farm. The chap thats on it will neither pay nor *clear out*, neither *die nor resign*, and of course must be removed; for which purpose I have this day forwarded to Webb a power of att[orne]y.

By Webb's own acc[oun]t he is doing much better than formerly. Promises to pay his debt to the Branch in Cincinnati, etc. etc. but he is such a devil of a romancer, that I know not how much of his story to consider *fact*, nor what part of it to set down as *fiction*.

If you should make a pilgrimage to America<sup>43</sup> next summer, I wish you would enquire into matters and things in general, and into Mr. Webb's affairs in particular and let me know how the land lies, and what I may reasonably hope from Webb and the Chain Farm.

Webb says that the Doct[or] is going down hill fast, and that Hatch<sup>44</sup> of Cincinnati (according to the Doct[or's] ans[swe]r) intends to make me pay for the salt he sold the firm of Webb & Alexander some 5 years ago—am[oun]t 170 Doll[ar]s.

That liability of mine the Doc[to]r assured me he would discharge and for which and other things I gave up the notes and claim I held against the Concern.

Are these cursed old affairs never to be ended? I wish the

<sup>42</sup>For Worth's connection with Henry L. Webb and Dr. William Alexander in their land projects near the present Cairo, Ill., see Note 36 and certain ones of the previous number of the QUARTERLY. In previous letters (Box 29, Nos. 60, 62) Worth expresses his distrust of Webb, from whom he had not heard for two years.

<sup>43</sup>America was a boom town started by Webb and Alexander in 1818 and abandoned on account of the floods in 1835. The first sale of its lots amounted to about \$100,000 and at one time it boasted a population of 1200. Cf. *Hist. of Alexander and Pulaski Counties*.

<sup>44</sup>The name does not appear in the Cincinnati Directory for 1819.



devil had Hatch, the Doct[or], Webb and the salt! That he will get all but the *last*, I have no doubt.

My next and last payment to the branch becomes due *next November*, and is, including Interest the debt of Webb, and a little debt of Mr. Dakin, about \$2,800. Where the Devil I am to obtain the money from I know not. Will no person be fool enough to purchase any of my Illinois lands, to help me out, in that payment? I suppose not.

If you can think of anything agreeable to write me, don't fail to let me have it. I will not trouble you with a *list* of my difficulties, it is a long one.

How do you come on? You must be a Crawfordite, if I should judge from the office<sup>45</sup> you lately held—pray will Illinois support that Radical Chieftain? He calculates upon New York, but he reckons without his host. Some of our political leaders would indeed elevate to the Presidency the Devil himself, provided he would make *them* his prime ministers.<sup>46</sup> Remember, all the intriguers in the union, and all the radicals and political Stock Jobbers are for Crawford. I am for Clay, Adams, or Jackson in preference. I would vote for Crawford only on one condition, and that is, that *he should pay my debt to the Branch!* . . .

### XIII.

GORHAM A. WORTH TO THOMAS SLOO, JR.

[Box 29, No. 64.]

My Dear Sloo,

New York 19 June 1824

I have before me your *aspiring* letter of 12 May. It seems your ambition is not likely to be satisfied with trifles. Member of the Legislature, Canal Commissioner, Justice of the peace and Agent of the Treasury, etc, etc, are mere nothings, we must be *Senator of the United States!* one of the grand counterpoises to Executive Influence—the sanctioning or controlling power of Official patronage! Very well—go on.

Mr. Webb too (who the Devil won't rise next!) is on the road to greatness. Well, I hope it will increase his ability to his notes at the Branch.

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<sup>45</sup>For this office see page 72.

<sup>46</sup>Possibly a reference to Van Buren, who managed the Crawford forces in New York, and also, probably to certain members of the state legislature.





The Doct[or],<sup>47</sup> it seems has nearly run his race, I am sorry for him, but remember "Every dog has his day." On the subject of your own ambitious views, I doubt not of success. As a Senator you would certainly appear to great advantage, you have a natural dignity of deportment, and a most senatorial gravity of aspect, in short, you were made for a Senator, for one of the sages of the present age, for a conscript Father! Then, you have all the necessary requisities of wit, and worth, and words, action and utterance. You have (I am not in jest) the eloquence of truth and of nature—of form, of sentiment and of feeling—not the noisy eloquence of a demagogue—not the oratorical flourish of a declaimer. But the more winning and impressive power of mildness of judgment and gentlemanly deportment.

You will be a favourite at Washington with the honest portion of all parties. . . . This is my deliberate opinion.

On the subject of the Presidential Election, the voice of the State has not yet been heard. If the Electoral Law<sup>48</sup> should pass (and our Governor has called the Legislature together for that purpose) Crawford will *not* be the man. If the election should be by Districts, our weight would be divided. If by General ticket, Adams may be the choice. Clay has however a strong and I believe an increasing power.

I do not think that Clay can be elected by the People, but I care not a d-m whether his election be by the House or by the Electoral College. I wish to see him safe in the House and *then*, I'll trust him to his fate.<sup>49</sup>

Now permit me to say one word about another personage, not so *great* a man, as those we have been speaking of, but one in whose concerns I take full as deep an interest. I mean *myself*.

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<sup>47</sup>Dr. William Alexander.

<sup>48</sup>This law was to give the people instead of the legislature the power of choosing the presidential electors. As this would militate against Crawford, whom the Regency favored, that group of politicians succeeded in avoiding this result by using its control of the state senate to force an adjournment on the ground that the special session was unconstitutional. Cf. Rammelkamp, in the Report of the *American Historical Association* for 1904, p. 193.

<sup>49</sup>The failure of Clay's followers to secure for their favorite three votes that had been promised them left him out of the election by the House of Representatives. Cf. *Ibid*, p. 200.



I am in *hot water* again, (don't laugh) for I may get dam-  
nably burnt. We have a contested Election in our Bank, the  
parties nearly equal in strength and more than politically hot.  
I *of course* belong to one side or the other, and my place perhaps  
depends upon my success. The 5 day of July decides it, and I may  
have *more leisure* to attend to your prospects and ambitious  
speculations.

Remember me to Mrs. Sloo, and tell her, my recollection of her  
kindness and hospitality is still fresh, and will long remain so.

#### XIV.

GORHAM A. WORTH TO THOMAS SLOO, JR.

(Box 29, No. 65.)

Dear Sloo,

New York Sept[ember] 20 1824

I yesterday rec[eive]d your *running* epistle, commencing 22  
July and closing under date of 24 Aug<sup>t</sup>.

Political honours, must I think, be cheap in Illinois, when the  
*Lawgivers*, and the representatives of the *Majority* of the people,  
are composed of such materials as *Webb*<sup>50</sup> etc. etc.

The rejection of a call for a Convention,<sup>51</sup> is however indica-  
tive of some good sense, or of great good fortune; for the present  
period is not propitious to the tinkering of Constitutions. The  
introduction of Slavery into your State, though it might operate  
favourably to the immediate interests of a few, would be the  
certain index to its future degradation, or the positive *bar* to its  
future moral, physical, and political importance in the Union.

As for Gov[ernor] Edwards, he is politically damn'd in the  
estimation of nineteen twentieths of the people of the U[nited]  
States. His charges,<sup>52</sup> however true, were from their nature in-

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<sup>50</sup>In 1832 Webb was a candidate for Congress from the first Illinois  
district and received the smallest number of votes cast for any of the  
five candidates. Cf. *Edwards Papers*, p. 599. If we may judge from  
the following letter Sloo was not any more likely to be influenced by  
Worth against Webb, a possible supporter of his senatorial aspirations,  
than against Crawford, his choice for the presidency.

<sup>51</sup>The vote was 4,972 for and 6,640 against. See Dav. & Stuvé, p. 327.

<sup>52</sup>This is a reference to the controversy between Edwards and Wil-  
liam H. Crawford, usually known as the "A. B. Plot." For a view dis-  
tinctly unfavorable to Edwards, cf. Benton, *Thirty Years' View*, I, pp. 34-36.



capable of that clear and absolute demonstration as to *fact*, and that irresistible inference as to *motive*, which could alone sanction their introduction against so high an officer of the Government, and on such a fallacious pretence. The result, was such as any sensible man would have anticipated. They advanced the interests, if not the reputation of his adversary, and covered himself with obloquy and disgrace. As the conduct of the representative honours or dishonours his Constituents, the *State* I should suppose would "feel the stain like a wound" and punish its author with merited contempt. If therefore you have no more formidable rival for the Senate than Edwards, I predict your success. In truth I know of no weight of character, of talent or merit, which should induce you to withdraw, or to despair of your election.

On the Presidential question, this State will also give a divided vote, unless the Crawford Leaders resort to purchase. From the acts and character of our present Legislature (which choose the Electors) there is I think some reason to apprehend, that some votes may be *bought*. In that event, Crawford may get the State, but not else. This is the opinion of the most intelligent politicians of this section of the Union.<sup>53</sup>

In an *unbought* state of things, Adams will get 24, and Clay 12 votes. *This*, (to *here* believed) will bring Clay into the House, where the contest is to be decided.

The Directoral Election here, on the 5th July, terminated as I wished. The insurgents were beaten and the influence of your friend strengthened rather than diminished. So much the better for the Bank. But this cloud had hardly passed over, before another and a more threatening one was seen rising in the *south*. I shall begin to think with old Shylock, "That there's no ill luck stirring but what lights on my shoulder" . . .

The whole world here is taken up and occupied in attention

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For an opposite view, cf. Edwards, *History of Illinois*, pp. 135-154, and *Edwards Papers*, pp. 223-231. Cf. also Ford, *Hist. of Illinois*, for the opinion of a contemporary from his own state.

<sup>53</sup>Van Buren seems to have been hopeful of Crawford's success to the very end. Rammelkamp does not mention the possible use of money in connection with members of the legislature. The final vote was Adams 26, Crawford 5, Clay 4, and Jackson 1. Cf. *Rep't Am. Hist. Ass'n*, 1904, pp. 198-200.









## XVI.

GORHAM A. WORTH TO THOMAS SLOO, JR.

(Box 29, No. 66.)

My Dear Sir,

New York 4th Dec[embe]r 1824

. . . The Presidential question will be settled before this reaches you. Unless Clay gets a part of the votes of Illinois and Indiana, and the whole of those of Louisiana<sup>58</sup> he will not go into the House, and the contest will be between Jackson and Adams, the latter of whom will get it. There has been quite a revolution in political sentiment in this State. Clinton is again *Lord of the Ascendant*.<sup>59</sup> He carried all before him, is stronger than ever, and if Jackson is President, Clinton will be the next.

How comes on your Sentorial race? I pray God you may succeed. I think you will. You were made for a *Senator*—cut out originally for one of the *Conscript Fathers* of this deliberative realm.

As soon as I hear of your success, I shall drop my familiarity and commence my future epistles with—"Most potent, grave, and reverend Seignor."<sup>60</sup> . . .

## XVII.

JOHN McLEAN<sup>61</sup> TO THOMAS SLOO, JR.

(Box 17, No. 3.)

Dear Sir

Washington 16th Jan[uar]y 1825

I have delayed writing a long time that I might have something to say which would be interesting or amusing. But I have waited

<sup>58</sup>Clay received no votes from any of these states.

<sup>59</sup>Clinton had been elected governor by a majority of over 16000 after what Thurlow Weed pronounced "one of the most stirring" political campaigns he had ever witnessed. Cf. Rammekamp, *loc. cit.*, p. 196.

<sup>60</sup>He had received four votes at the time Elias Kent Kane was chosen senator, Nov. 30, 1824. Cf. Snyder, *loc. cit.*, 203. Worth's desire to see Sloo in New York "on his way to Congress," and his statement that "it is not improbable that you and Worthington and I may meet as usual under the same table" were not to be realized. Cf. Box 29, No. 65.

<sup>61</sup>John McLean was born in North Carolina, February 4, 1791. When four years old his parents moved to Kentucky, where the son, as the letter shows, evidently enjoyed few educational advantages. He was, however,



in vain and it seems at present that if I [wait now till?] I shall have such intelligence to communicate, that the time will not arrive for beginning this winter.

The question of the President is beginning to be looked about a little, but it is a matter of entire doubt who is to succeed. Mr. Crawford's friends still maintain that his prospect is equal.<sup>62</sup> In this I have no hesitation in saying that they are wrong. At present, however, things are so unsettled that his chance may be the best before the question is tried. But be certain that everything on the subject is so doubtful that no man seems to have anything like a settled opinion as to the likely result.

I have been and am immensely mortified at my treatment in Ill[inois] not because I have been beaten for the Senate;<sup>63</sup> but because I am induced to believe that I have been treated with insincerity by men of whom I believed better; because I believe my friends have been imposed upon and led away from me by delusions fabricated for the express purpose; because I have been attempted to be played upon by the *chimera* that I was reserved for the purpose of sealing and cap[p]ing the triumph[h] of the party by beating Mr Cook for congress being the only man who could do it;<sup>64</sup> because it has been given out that I was no candi-

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one of the most brilliant and eloquent men in public life in early Illinois, was an active rival of Daniel P. Cook, who like himself was reared in Kentucky, and also like Cook cut off comparatively early in the midst of his career. He died at Shawneetown, Oct. 14, 1830, within less than a year after his unanimous election to the United States senate. Cf. the sketch by J. A. Burnham in *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the year 1903*, p. 190ff.

<sup>62</sup>Crawford actually had no chance, but the result was in doubt until the election by the House finally gave Adams one majority. Cook's vote, which gave Illinois to the successful candidate, afterwards led to his defeat for Congress in 1826. McLean was a strong Jackson man and did not approve the action of Cook. *Ibid.* 195.

<sup>63</sup>McLean had been elected by the legislature of Illinois, on the third ballot, to fill the unexpired term of Ninian Edwards, from December, 1824, to March 4, 1825. He was likewise a candidate for the full term of six years but, as indicated in the letter, was passed over for Elias Kent Kane. The letter to Sloo displays marked confidence in the latter, which is surprising in view of Sloo's own candidacy. Cf. the preceding letters of Webb and Worth and the articles by Burnham and Snyder, *loc. cit.*

<sup>64</sup>None of the real leaders desired to make the canvass against Cook, despite his vote for Adams, so Joseph Duncan entered the race and unexpectedly beat him. Cf. Ford, p. 73.



date when the fact was otherwise; this kind of soft corn may do to feed children, but it is too lite diet for men. It is said too I am advised by my quantum friends that I am at the head of the triumphant party in Ill[inois]<sup>65</sup> that I am a man of great talents and cleverness; now this is a delightful desert; But it will never do for dinner; I have long ago learned that if the only reward of talents and cleverness is to be called such that a man might just as well be called rascal and fool.

By this time you begin to think that I have deserted my colours and that I am about to go over to the enemy. Expel your apprehensions I have taken my stand and will never leave it. But I must be pardoned if I should set about expelling some men from the camp; We have amongst us some cunning men, some men that are too wise they must be put out; and for the future I am determined to have no political connection with any man who has any secrets and who does not take a decided and open stand upon all important Questions and that I will support no sly cunning man for any office. If those who had acted with me and with whom I acted chose to elect any man of our friends to any office in preference to me; and heard said he has more claims, he is better qualified, he is more deserving, etc. etc., I should never have thought hard and if either of those reasons or any other good one had been assigned I declare most solemnly I would have been better pleased with Mr. K[ane]'s<sup>66</sup> Election than with my own and if after it was arranged and determined that I should not be elected; could my name have been kept out of the contest I would have been rejoiced: it was my request I ought to have been gratified or had the election been put off till the last of the session so as not to have operated upon me here I should have contented myself. I requested ~~that~~ much; but even in that I could not be gratified. It seemed as if anything and every thing which would cloud my future prospects was assiduously studded out and promptly executed; perhaps it was without design. I hope so but appearances are strange. If I had known that the same legislature that elected me for one

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<sup>65</sup>McLean was the chief organizer of the Jackson forces in Illinois for the victory of 1838—an event which resulted in his own unanimous election to the senate. Cf. Burnham, *loc. cit.*, p. 196.

<sup>66</sup>For a sketch of Elias Kent Kane cf. Reynolds, *Pioneer Hist. of Illinois*, p. 410.



session; would have beaten me for six years in a week I would now have have been in Ill[inois] for I was aware of the little benefit any man would have to be here for one session only and it known he was beaten for the next.

## XVIII.

JOHN McLEAN TO THOMAS SLOO, JR.

[Box 17, No. 13.]

Dear Sir,

Washington 22nd Jan[uar]y 1825

Yours under date 31st ult is to hand and altho I am not fully satisfied with the result, I agree with you that it is pretty well. I am sorry that B[rowne?]<sup>67</sup> is elected and that Robinson<sup>68</sup> is beaten. I am exceedingly pleased that my name was not used as I could not have accepted the place.

You mention that many have their eye upon me for a certain object;<sup>69</sup> you do not name what it is. Because I do not now and never did doubt you; because I can in perfect confidence say to you whatever I may think, I take this occasion of answering to that remark that I never intend to trouble my friends in Ill[inois] for any thing because I am satisfied that I can never get it without descending to a course of conduct which I ever have and I trust ever will be above.<sup>70</sup>

I have no faith in the men who call themselves (*the party*) I mean collectively. Old Nic or the *Devil* could not be more hypocritical or false, or selfish than *some* of them.<sup>71</sup> When I see you I will be more at large, for present believe me ever your friend—

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<sup>67</sup>Evidently Thomas C. Browne (or Brown), of Shawneetown, who was elected one of the associate justices of the state supreme court. For McLean's opinion of Browne cf. *Edwards Papers*, p. 359.

<sup>68</sup>John M. Robinson, of Carmi. In 1830 he succeeded McLean in the senate. Cf. *Edwards Papers*, p. 551.

<sup>69</sup>The reference may be to a state judgeship. McLean had been nominated as judge for the eastern circuit of Illinois Territory, in 1818, two years after being admitted to the bar, but had then refused the appointment. Cf. Burnham, *loc. cit.*, 192.

<sup>70</sup>For other references to this attitude on the part of McLean cf. *Edwards Papers*, 358-362, 483.

<sup>71</sup>Possibly the Edwards Letters, pp. 347-350, 361, and the letters of James Hall, *Infra*, may serve to indicate some of the individuals McLean has in mind.





XIX.

GEORGE W. GRAHAM<sup>72</sup> TO THOMAS SLOO, JR.  
[Box 9, No. 48.]

Treasury Department  
Gen[era]l Land Office  
21st Decem[be]r 1825

Sir,

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your duplicate Reports on the result of your examination of the General Land offices in the States of Illinois and Missouri and Territory of Arkansas,<sup>73</sup> also your letter of 30 Novem[ber] last, transmitting the account for your services and showing the amount received in payment from the several Receivers of public Moneys of the land offices examined, which has been referred to the Secretary of the Treasury.

I am, very respectf<sup>y</sup> Y<sup>r</sup> Obt Svt

G. W. Graham

Thos Sloo Jun, Esq.

Mc Leansborough Ills.

XX.

JAMES HALL<sup>74</sup> TO THOMAS SLOO, JR.  
(Box 11, No. 4.)

Dear Sir,

Vandalia January 15th 1827

The Bill for an act abolishing the Circuit Courts<sup>75</sup> has at last passed the council, and is now a law, if that can be called a law,

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<sup>72</sup>Graham had earlier undertaken a special mission to Texas for the State Department and was employed in other confidential missions before filling this position.

<sup>73</sup>This is evidently the office that had led Worth to infer that Sloo was a Crawfordite. Cf. p. 63.

<sup>74</sup>For an exceedingly interesting sketch of Judge Hall cf. the *Ohio State Archacological and Historical Quarterly*, XVI, pp. 468ff. The *Edwards Papers*, *passim*, present a less favorable view. In December, 1824, he had been elected by the legislature as one of the five circuit judges of the state. Cf. Dav. & Stuvé, p. 329.

<sup>75</sup>The course of Judge Samuel McRoberts in removing for political reasons the clerk of the Madison County circuit court, Joseph Conway, and in appointing in his stead his friend Emanuel J. West (see Note 99), and also pushing a judgment against Governor Coles for manumitting



which is in direct violation of the constitution. I sent you a copy of our Memorial,<sup>76</sup> in which the constitutional question is presented at length. I wrote it in a great hurry after the Bill had got into the Senate, but I think it will do before the people. If I can get an opportunity I will send a number of them to your County, if not, I will carry them there, on my way home. In the meanwhile, all is uncertainty here, as to the final arrangement of the Courts.<sup>77</sup> Edwards still goes for two circuits, and with him go all his minions. Such a plan would carry if it were not for the uncertainty who would be the judges. Indeed we are not without some hopes, that they will even repeal the judge-breaking law, and put everything back to what the diplomatists call the *status ante bellum*, as they were before the war. Those who advocate the repeal of the Circuit System are alarmed at their own success, and the people who arrive here daily bring reports from all parts of the Country of the unpopularity of this measure. This feeling among the people should be encouraged. They are now, in many places, astonished and incensed, at the high handed measures of their representatives, and should not be suffered to cool. An expression of such feeling may perhaps induce the Legislature to retract. I wish therefore to have all the petitions which were got up in Hamilton sent on to Mr Casey,<sup>78</sup> and I would be glad that our friends would write to us. I intend, as soon as the Legislature adjourns, if things remain in their present shape, to make a public appeal to the people of my circuit, or else to join other judges in making an appeal to the people of the State. Gov[ernor] Edwards has said, that one of the Supreme Judges, Smith, gave his opinion in the Council that the repeal of the system, was unconstitutional, and that the

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his slaves without giving a formal bond. In addition Governor Edwards had attacked the state court system on the ground of extravagance in the number of judges and their salaries. Cf. Dav. & Stuvé, pp. 342, 343, and *Edwards Papers*, 265, 268.

<sup>76</sup>A copy of this memorial is in the library of the Hist. and Phil. Society.

<sup>77</sup>The five circuits were retained, with one of the supreme justices to officiate in each of four, while Judge R. M. Young was retained on the circuit comprising the military district of the state. Cf. Dav. & Stuvé, p. 342.

<sup>78</sup>Zadoc Casey then representing a district composed of Hamilton and three other counties in the state senate. Later he was lieutenant-governor and representative in Congress. Cf. Reynolds, *Pioneer History*, p. 413.



Legislature ought to *attend to that matter*, in other words, that Smith should be addressed out, for not confirming his conscience to the will of the Legislature.<sup>78a</sup> Will the people submit to such degradation of the judicial office? Wattles<sup>79</sup> has entirely given up Edwards. Indeed many of his friends are becoming very tired of him. The Adams men are much incensed at his joining Jackson.<sup>80</sup> I have written to Col[onel] O Fallon<sup>81</sup> on that subject.

A few days ago Edwards, in a message to the lower House, complained that he [had] not seen nor heard any thing of a memorial which had been adopted to be sent to Congress.<sup>82</sup> This was considered as a censure upon the Committee on enrolments, and Dr. Alexander,<sup>83</sup> one of that committee introduced a resolution, about such a memorial until it was sent to him, and that his message was an encroachment upon the privileges of the House; it was referred to a select committee, who will report tomorrow against the Governor. All is confusion. The Legislature will not in all probability rise for six weeks yet—they have as yet done nothing of general interest except to pass a few laws submitted to them by the Supreme Judges, and to break the Circuit Judges. I am quite undetermined what course to pursue as respects myself. I cannot practice before Brown,<sup>84</sup> his notorious partiality, and his hostility to me, would always prevent my success as a lawyer, and I should be engaged in continual war with him; on the other hand I cannot afford to be idle, or to await the decision of the next Legislature, who I think would reinstate us. But whether to go to the North, or the West, or

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<sup>78a</sup>Cf. Dav. & Stuvé, p. 342.

<sup>79</sup>John O. Wattles was one of the five circuit judges deprived of his office. Cf. Dav. & Stuvé, p. 329.

<sup>80</sup>Edwards is referred to by Snyder (*loc. cit.*) as a "milk and cider" or mild supporter of Jackson. His friendship for the General and at the same time his connection with Cook placed him in a dilemma from which the early death of the latter in a manner relieved him. Cf. Gillespie, p. 15. The references to Hall in the *Edwards Papers* are decidedly uncomplimentary.

<sup>81</sup>Possibly Col. James O'Fallon of Missouri.

<sup>82</sup>Possibly this was on the subject of reducing the price of public lands. Cf. Dav. & Stuvé, p. 343.

<sup>83</sup>See Note 42. It may also be Samuel Alexander, one of the members of the Canal Commission.

<sup>84</sup>See Notes 11 and 12.



quit the State, and its cursed politics, I am uncertain.<sup>55</sup> It is a hard thing to be so poor, that we must bend to circumstances.

Please to present my best respects to Mrs. S.

Thomas Sloo, Jr.  
McLeansborough  
Hamilton County, Illinois.

Your friend,  
James Hall

## XXI.

EDWARD COLES TO THOMAS SLOO, JR.  
(Box 4, No. 56.)

Washington Feb[ruary] 15, 1827

My Dear Sir:

Owing to my having been detained in Virginia, by the business which took me there, I did not reach this until the 5th instant, when I had the pleasure to receive your letter of 8th ult[imo] previous to which however your fathers letter to the Com[missioner] of the Gen[era]l Land Office<sup>56</sup> had been delivered by Mr. Kane. I immediately waited on the Com[missioner] read with him your Fathers letter,<sup>57</sup> and made to him, and afterwards to the Sec[retary] of the Treasury,<sup>58</sup> and his chief clerk, all the explanations necessary to a thorough understanding of the subject; and from what passed I think there will be no hesitation, when the subject of compensation for clerk hire is passed upon by the Sec[retar]y, to allow your Father the amount claimed by him viz: as much as is allowed to any other Register in whose office the same am[oun]t of labour was performed. There are several other Land Officers who are in the same situation; unable to produce vouchers from the death or removal of the clerks employed. There will of course be one

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<sup>55</sup>He did not leave the state until 1830 and before that date was chosen as state treasurer. He was defeated for this office in 1830 and passed from it under a cloud. Cf. Dav. & Stuvé, p. 366.

<sup>56</sup>George W. Graham was then serving in that capacity. See Box 9, No. 48.

<sup>57</sup>This claim must have referred to an earlier period for he does not appear in the *Official Register* for 1826 as the incumbent in the office at Shawneetown.

<sup>58</sup>Richard Rush of Pennsylvania was then Secretary of the Treasury.





uniform rule established, and from what I can gather from the Secretarys conversation it will be a liberal one. I have explained to him in detail the amount of labour done by your Brothers,<sup>89</sup> and every thing in relation to your Fathers case; and also of the hardships of other cases, especially of that of Mr Humphries<sup>90</sup> of Kaskaskia, who employed no clerk, but preformed all the labour himself. I have adduced other cases, and by various illustrations endeavoured to show that sheer justice required that clerk hire should not be allowed by the vouchers only, but other considerations, all of which I explain to him, should be taken into the estimate; and gave it as my opinion that the most just and equitable mode would be by an exact appointment of clerk hire to the labour performed; whether performed by the principal, by his children, or by hired clerks. Vouchers have not yet been rec[eive]d from the different Land officers, they are however coming in from time to time. But such is the press of business at this time, that if the vouchers were all in, the Sec[retary] would not have time to attend to it until after the adjournment of Congress.

Before my arrival here the Sec[retary] of War<sup>91</sup> had appointed young Menard,<sup>92</sup> on the recommendation of Cook, as the Indian Agent at Peoria; and also had filled the vacancy at Chicago,<sup>93</sup> of the existence of which I was unapprised until my arrival here, by the app[ointmen]t of some one from Virginia. I spoke very freely in disapprobation of this last app[ointmen]t to the Secretary, told him it was disrespectful to the State, and unjust to its citizens, that we did not claim as a right to share in the loaves and fishes, but that we did to the *crumbs* which fell from the public board *on our soil*. But it was then too late to

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<sup>89</sup>A letter of Gorham A. Worth (Box 29, No. 61), names these brothers as follows: Howell, John, James, and Albert. Albert Gallatin Sloo and James C. Sloo are mentioned by Snyder, *loc. cit.*, 206.

<sup>90</sup>Edward Humphrey of Kaskaskia was appointed Receiver of public moneys at that place in 1820. Edwards opposed the appointment, but Thomas favored it and was successful. Cf. *Edwards Papers*, pp. 175-177, and also Box 11, No. 62.

<sup>91</sup>James Barbour of Virginia.

<sup>92</sup>Menard's father Pierre was the first lieutenant-governor of Illinois.

<sup>93</sup>The question of "spoils" seems to agitate all parties at this period. Coles, himself, was an outsider when first appointed to office in Illinois.



reconsider, the app[ointmen]t had been made. I cannot but think if I had been here I could have prevented it, and if I could not have gotten it for a friend, I could at least have had it conferred on a citizen of the State.

I find prevailing here an extraordinary degree of excitement among the active politicians.<sup>94</sup> Men who were heretofore of the same party are now separated; and as to the boundaries of party are not well defined, there is a good deal of jostling and irritation. Each one makes himself the standard, and charges upon the other a dereliction of principle or a desertion of friends. From the language of the late supporters of our friend Crawford, among whom were the purest Republicans of the country, you would suppose this the age of *civil alternatives*; for they neither like Adams or Jackson, and are driven, they say, to a choice of evils: and are unfortunately divided in opinion as to the greatest evil. I was much gratified two nights since, in explaining our Illinois politics, and the causes which led to Edwards election, and speaking of you as a good Crawfordite, who, like myself, had preferred to all other men at the last election, and were uncommitted as to whom we should support at the next, willing to wait events and at the proper time to select the best man. Two or three of the Crawfordites present, simultaneously exclaimed that they [torn off] concurred with us, and that it was the proper course for all to pursue. I have many old friends on both sides of the question, both for and ag[ains]t the Adm[inistratio]n, and have a good opportunity of hearing much on both sides. When we meet I shall be able to amuse you with many anecdotes, both as to men and to things.

I shall leave this in about one week for Phi[adelphi]a, and shall return through this place to Virginia in March, and from thence shall return to Illinois in April or May. I cannot say exactly when I shall be back, as the business connected with my late Mothers estate has not yet been settled; but I have reason to believe it will be in April. As soon as this is done I shall set out for the West. I am very anxious to hear the result of my suit before the Supreme Court,<sup>95</sup> and what the Legislature has

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<sup>94</sup>For a review of political conditions cf. McMaster V, p. 502ff.

<sup>95</sup>Possibly this was the one brought against him for freeing his slaves. Cf. note 75 and Dav. & Stuvé, 322 note.



done, and how things are going on in Illinois. Our last newspaper date was January 20.

I caught a very bad cold on my way here, and have and still suffer very much with it. I have not been so sick however but that I have been able to dine out *every day* in large parties and gone every evening but one to an evening party. This you will say is rather too dissipated for a quiet fire side Wetsern man. I own it. But I have many valued friends here, where I resided six of the happiest years of my life,<sup>96</sup> have not enjoyed their society for seven years, and shall not remain among them but 2 or 3 weeks. This will excuse me even with you who are a more quiet fire side man than myself. Gen[eral]<sup>97</sup> and Mrs. Findlay I see often, they are both well.

My respectful compliments to Mrs Sloo and your Father and accept for yourself the assurances of my great respect and sincere regard.

## XXII.

SAMUEL McROBERTS<sup>98</sup> TO THOMAS SLOO, JR.  
(Box 19, No. 22.)

Vandalia, February 17, 1827

Dear Sir

The General Assembly is still in session but from present appearances that body will adjourn this evening, or on Monday next. They have had night sessions for some time past, and one is contemplated this evening; if so, an adjournment may take place.

The charges preferred against the cashier [sic] of the principle bank,<sup>99</sup> Judge Smith, and the president and directors of the

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<sup>96</sup>While serving as Madison's private secretary.

<sup>97</sup>He was then finishing his first term in Congress.

<sup>98</sup>For references to Judge Samuel McRoberts. Cf. Dav. & Stuvé, pp. 329, 343. There are a few references to him in the *Edwards Papers*.

<sup>99</sup>This was the State Bank created in 1821. The cashier of the principal bank, at Vandalia, was J. M. Duncan. From the beginning the method of conducting its affairs forced down the value of its issues of currency, aside from the effect of the vicious principles upon which it was founded. Judge T. W. Smith had formerly been cashier of the branch bank at Edwardsville, of which William Kinney, then lieutenant-governor (See Note 106) was president. He, Emanuel J. West, and James McGuire united to publish a pro-slavery paper at Edwardsville during



branch Bank at Edwardsville, have all failed. Investigations before committees of the House of Representatives, in two cases were had, and the charges were abandoned in the other case.

The Session since I have been here, has been a boistrous one. Many circumstances with which you are no doubt acquainted, tended to produce a spirit of discord.

We have been expecting to see you here. And I am well assured had it fell to your lot to have presided over the state, and many here who opposed your election now regret the course they pursued and that you had not been elected. the ill feelings and angry passions produced here this winter, would never have been heard of. It is a misfortune to Illinois that you were not elected. It is in truth a deep misfortune, both as it respects the internal harmony and prosperity of the state, and her character abroad.

I was in Kentucky in the fall. Many gentlemen there expressed the warmest feelings for you, and hoped the legislature would recognize you as governor. It was understood there that there was likely to be a contest before the General Assembly upon the subject.

The elections, so far as any were had in the legislature, terminated favourably. Judge Hall was elected state treasurer, and James Whitlock,<sup>100</sup> of Kaskaskia, state Recorder. The latter gentleman I presume you recollect. He is a worthy man, and well qualified to discharge the duties of his office.

We have understood from Washington city, that Dr. John Todd<sup>101</sup> has been recommended by the president to the U[nited]

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the Convention campaign and Edwards charged that McGuire obtained through Kinney and Smith a loan at the bank for the purpose of establishing this press. The committee to whom the charges of the Governor were referred reported against the charges in both cases. Edwards had waged his campaign in 1826 on the basis of reform in state banking conditions and had felt bound to make good his charges so his letter books and messages for this period abundantly prove. His insistence upon this course had arrayed against him nearly all the leading politicians of the state, who joined forces to thwart his purposes by raising the cry of political persecution. For references see Dav. & Stuvé, p. 339; Ford, pp. 64-66. *Edwards Papers*, p. 270; Scott, p. 166; Greene and Alvord, pp. 116-123.

<sup>100</sup>A possible reference is in Greene and Alvord, p. 222.

<sup>101</sup>Edwards had previously recommended him to Clay as being a warm friend of the latter. Cf. *Edwards Papers*, 241.





S[tates] senate, for Register of the land office at Sangamo. What the senate may do is not known. It is also stated that Mr. John Reynolds<sup>102</sup> is recommended, or probably will be, to the U. S. senate, for district attorney for the state.

A great many bills have been passed by the legislature. They are to be published in the form of a revised code.

From the present arrangement of the courts, the term at Madison will be next week.

I shall practice in all the counties of the first and second circuit.

Accept the renewed assurances of my profound regard

### XXIII.

THOMAS HALL TO THOMAS SLOO, JR.  
(Box II, No. 5.)

Vandalia June 3d 1827

Dear Sir,

Will you do me a small favour? Our friend Mr I. T. B. Stapp is an applicant for the office of Postmaster here, which is vacant by the resignation of Judge Warnock. His appointment would be gratifying to all your friends at this place, and there is no doubt of his capacity and integrity. We have all written to the Postmaster General, and to our members. Will you do us the favour to drop a line to Mr Mc Lean,<sup>103</sup> if it is only to say that the testimony of Col[onel] Berry,<sup>104</sup> Mr Forquer, and my-

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<sup>102</sup>He had previously served as associate justice of the state supreme court and was afterwards governor. Cf. Dav. & Stuvé, 300, 329. He was unsuccessful candidate for attorney-general of the state in 1829. Cf. *Edwards Papers*, 442.

<sup>103</sup>John McLean, of Ohio, then serving as Postmaster General.

<sup>104</sup>Elijah C. Berry was the first state auditor of Illinois. Cf. *Edwards, Hist. of Ill.*, p. 336. George Forquer, one of the settlers of Monroe County, was of considerable importance in the political history of early Illinois. He was secretary of state under Edward Coles and in 1829 became attorney-general. Berry and Forquer were commissioners under the free school act of 1825. A letter from Berry follows this. For sketch of Forquer, cf. *Edwards Papers*, 278-279n. He was a frequent correspondent of Edwards.



self, and Col[onel] Ewing,<sup>105</sup> may be relied on—as we are strangers to him.

I have just returned from Edwardsville, St. Louis, Belleville, etc. I saw Smith, West Kinney,<sup>106</sup> Thomes, Edwards and other great men, and am satisfied that old things are to be done away among us, and all things to become new. Our parties, as they have heretofore existed are already dissolved, and new distinctions are rapidly taking place. Smith, Kinney and West, are about to set up a Newspaper at Edwardsville<sup>107</sup>—ostensibly for Jackson, but in fact to operate in State politics. Smith and Kinney want to be Senator and Governor. They go against Edwards, Thomas, but most especially and bitterly against McLean.<sup>108</sup> *Party No 2*, consists of John Reynolds<sup>109</sup> and Tom Reynolds the Beards<sup>109</sup> etc. Jno R[eynolds] wants to be Senator—is inveterate against Smith, Edwards, Thomas and doubt much like McLean. *Party No 3* consists of Jesse B. Thomas *Solus*—the privates and officers yet to be enlisted. The Hon[orable] Jesse is very bitter against Smith and Co. but more against Mc Lean. He swears that Mc Lean is a dishonest man and a dishonest politician—that he cant, and by G—— he *shant* be elected.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>105</sup>For W. L. D. Ewing cf. *Edwards Papers*, p. 233n. He served for fifteen days as governor of Illinois at the conclusion of Reynold's term. Cf. Dav. & Stuvé, 369.

<sup>106</sup>William Kinney had been elected as lieutenant-governor in 1826. He ran on Sloo's ticket. He was unsuccessful candidate for governor in 1830.

<sup>107</sup>The Illinois Corrector, edited by R. K. Fleming. Cf. Scott, *Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois*, p. 166, and *Edwards Papers*, 292-293.

<sup>108</sup>On July 7, 1827, Joseph M. Street writes to Edwards from Shawneetown: "McLean has high hopes—as Thomas sinks here." McLean was chosen as senator, cf. Notes 61 and 63. The letters of Hooper Warren, Ninian Edwards, and John McLean for this period should be compared with this of Hall. Cf. *Edwards Papers*, *passim*.

<sup>109</sup>For John Reynolds cf. Note 102. Thomas Reynolds had succeeded Joseph Phillips (Note 8) as chief justice of the state supreme court in 1822, but neither he nor his nephew John was re-elected in 1824. Cf. Dav. & Stuvé, pp. 300, 309. The name Baird or Beard is mentioned in *Edwards Papers*, pp. 364-370, and in Dav. & Stuvé, p. 326.

<sup>110</sup>McLean gained the election and Thomas then removed to Mt. Vernon, Ohio. He took part in nominating his friend Harrison for the presidency in 1840, and died at Mt. Vernon, May 4, 1853.



I do not see how the above named men can ever again amalgamate, at any rate they will not join with *Party No 4* which consists of Jno Mc Lean and his friends—Nor with *Party No 5* which is composed of Edwards & Co.

Edwards declares publicly on all occasions that he will not be a candidate for the Senate, and I am inclined to think he will not be. Thomas also declares he will not be, but it is easily seen that his object is to bring out a great many candidates, and he thinks the report of his retiring will have that effect.

When I saw him at St Louis he expressed a great deal of contrition at having opposed your election for Governor, and requested me to say to you that if any appointment from the Gen[era]l Gov[ernmen]t should offer which would suit you, you might reply on his most active exertions etc. He urged this matter very much, and begged me to endeavour to convince you how much he was your friend, and all that. He said a great many more things to me equally sincere and true, some of which I will repeat when I see you.<sup>111</sup>

Depend upon it, my dear Sir, these combinations which are going on in our State will ruin every man who is engaged in them. The people are beginning to complain loudly. Kinney is sinking faster than I ever saw any man, his violence disgusts even his friends.<sup>112</sup> Thomas and Edwards are gone.<sup>113</sup> Smith is universally feared, his ambition and his intriguing spirit

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<sup>111</sup>Sloo had been a friend of Thomas, as is shown by his reference on page 56.

<sup>112</sup>Despite this unfavorable characterization Hall supported Kinney for governor in the election of 1830, although he was anti-Jackson in national politics. Through this he lost his office as state treasurer. Cf. Dav. & Stuvé, p. 366. One of his political opponents characterizes Hall very severely and his political career seems neither consistent nor particularly creditable to him. Cf. *Edwards Papers*, p. 519.

<sup>113</sup>Neither of them figured in Illinois politics after 1830. Thomas removed to Ohio and Edwards for a time considered removal to Texas but remained in Illinois. He was candidate for Congress from the First District of Illinois in 1832 but was beaten, and died of Cholera in the following year. It is interesting to contemplate the spectacle of both Edwards and Houston in Texas at the same time! Cf. *Edwards Papers*, p. 447.



alarm friends and foes.<sup>114</sup> Lockwood<sup>115</sup> and Wilson<sup>116</sup> are greatly depreciated. All of these men must go down. Mc Lean stands best, but his prospects are very doubtful, his habitual neglect of the interests of those who have supported him most warmly, is attributed to want of gratitude, or to a selfish policy, and a great many predict that his friends will forsake him in the hour of peril. Should they do so he would have no right to complain for he has never supported any of us.<sup>117</sup> I shall however support him. I have not yet learned what will be the course of our friends at Kaskaskia. They are considered with the Smith gang,<sup>118</sup> but I cannot believe it. How do you feel on the Presidential question? I hope you do not think of joining the Jackson combination. If you ever expect to be a candidate again before the people of this State, avoid that rock.<sup>119</sup> Jackson's day is over in Illinois—the canal appropriation has settled that question.<sup>120</sup> Can you not also whisper to me whether you will again offer for Governor? If you do so, keep clear of the combinations. The people are with you.<sup>121</sup> The Kinney squad is against you.

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<sup>114</sup>During the legislative session of 1832-33, he narrowly escaped impeachment for misdemeanor in his office as associate justice of the supreme court of the state. Cf. Dav. & Stuvé, p. 368.

<sup>115</sup>Samuel D. Lockwood was then serving as associate justice of the state supreme court. He had received two votes for senator in 1823 when Jesse B. Thomas was re-elected (see *supra*, p. 57), and there was an expression of sentiment in his favor at this time. Cf. *Edwards Papers*, pp. 204, 296.

<sup>116</sup>William Wilson was then chief justice of the state Supreme Court. In a letter of George Forquer to Edwards, March 18, 1830, the former represents Lockwood and Wilson as working against Edwards and Forquer in favor of themselves and of doing so through McLean. Cf. *Edwards Papers*, p. 482.

<sup>117</sup>For another statement reinforcing this characterization of McLean cf. *Ibid*, 483.

<sup>118</sup>An early use of a term of very modern signification.

<sup>119</sup>Sloo is reported as being a "whole hog" Jacksonian. Cf. Snyder, *loc. cit.*, p. 205.

<sup>120</sup>This was the appropriation by Congress in 1827, of about 224,322 acres of public land. This was largely secured through the influence of D. P. Cook. Cf. Edwards, *Hist. of Ill.*, p. 259; *Illinois Historical Collections*, IV, p. 74.

<sup>121</sup>In 1828 Sloo determined to seek a larger field of mercantile activity and removed to New Orleans, where his family followed him two years later. Disappointed political ambition doubtless played its part in bringing





We are trying to make up a little party to the mineral well at Mt Vernon, or Mrs Gaston's. Ewing and wife, and myself and wife will I think go down after the Federal court, and spend ten days.

Edwards is there now, and talks of taking his own family and Cooks. The latter has returned home very low.<sup>122</sup>

If we go to Jefferson you must meet us. I can tell you a great [deal?] of news. . . .

#### XXIV.

ELIJAH C. BERRY TO THOMAS SLOO, JR  
(Box 2, No. 26.)

Vandalia, July 26, 1827

Dear Sir,

You no doubt bear in recollection the stand taken by His Exc[ellenc]y last winter, that the staff of the Commander-in-chief, as well as all staff appointments, were void and of no effect, and were not authorized by the Constitution;<sup>123</sup> and you may also recollect the opinion of a large majority of the Senate on the subject, which, as I supposed, had fully settled the question, when we consider the precedent already set by the practice of the former governors for the last 8 years. But it seems that his excellency determined to oppose his *mighty individual* power to the clearly expressed will of the people through an almost unanimous vote of their Senators, and still refused to acknowledge any staff appointments. I have understood that he has given orders to the Sangamo Colonel to draw the whole or a portion of the arms from Shawneetown, directly from the Ware-house,

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about this removal. In this he simply follows a precedent established by Joseph Phillips and Jesse B. Thomas, and contemplated by Edwards also. Cf. Snyder, *loc. cit.*, p. 204 and Box 27, No. 14.

<sup>122</sup>He was suffering from tuberculosis, to which he fell a victim October 16, 1827. He died in his native state, Kentucky, at the age of 32, but he had already exerted an important influence during the formative period of his adopted state. In many respects he and Sloo present an interesting comparison, but Cook has the advantage of a wider stage for the exercise of his talents. Cf. the letters herewith published and the references to Cook in the *Edwards Papers*.

<sup>123</sup>For a sketch of the early militia of Illinois cf. Dav. & Stuvé, pp. 358-362.



and has paid no attention to the quarter master General, the sole person, I contend, who is authorized to controul the arms, under the directions of his Exc[ellenc]y and that a wagon has gone down for that purpose.

Now the object of this letter, is to suggest to you the necessity of taking a stand in the case, and to keep under your particular charge those arms, and to permit none to be removed, but under the order of the governor, directly addressed to the *quarter master general*.<sup>124</sup>

If I mistake not, a law or resolution passed at the called session requiring the quarter-master general of the state to take charge of the public arms, and to deposite them at the seat of government, which is to be, or must be paid for out of the contingent fund. I now hope you may determine at once to possess yourself of those arms agreeably to the law, and cause them to be conveyed to this place under your controul *alone*, and yield them to no living being, thro any other channel than from an *official order* from the commander-in-chief, to the *Quartermaster general* of the State of Illinois; and thereby bring his excellency to his bearings, and at the same time maintain your rights as an officer. If trusted to my care at this place, I pledge myself they shall not be delivered, upon any condition, but upon the order of the Commander-in-chief, officially addressed to the "Quarter-master General, Tho[ma]s Sloo, Jr."

I hope you will excuse the liberty I have taken in addressing you on this subject, and accept my sincere friendship.

E. C. Berry.

N. B. I shall be glad to hear from you on this subject, as soon [as] convenient

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<sup>124</sup>This evidently was a political scheme to hamper Edwards, who was then encountering some trouble with the Indians in the upper part of the state, and to force him to set a precedent that the opposition could use against him. To Sloo's credit he refused to be a party to this attempt to gain partisan advantage.



## XXV.

THOMAS SLOO, JR. TO ELIJAH C. BERRY.<sup>125</sup>  
(Box 2, No. 26<sup>b</sup>.)

18th Aug[ust] 1827.

Dear Sir,

Yours of the 26th ult was not received until a few days since, on my return home, after an absence of nearly three weeks.

My appointment as q[uarte]r Master Gen[era]l, agreeably to my understanding of the 4th sec. of the Militia law of the State, terminated with the Executive duties of Gov[ernor] Coles, from whom the appointment emanated. Indeed but for that conviction, I should have long since resigned.

Situated as I am, in relation to the present commander-in-chief, had I barely doubts as to the termination of my ap[pointment], delicacy would forbid my interposing any obstacles to interrupt the harmonious administration of his government.<sup>126</sup>

Believing as I do, that there is at present no Q[uarte]r Master Gen[era]l of the State, the arms would of course be under the entire control and disposition of the Gov[ernor]. He assuming however a responsibility which does not appertain to the office of Commander-in Chief.

## XXVI.

JAMES CAMPBELL<sup>127</sup> TO JAMES FINDLAY.  
(Box 4, No. 7.)

Springfield Sangamo Co[un]ty, Illinois

Feb[ruar]y 25th 1830

Respected friend

Since I saw you at Urbana Ohio. I moved with my family to this place. I left there immediately after the fall elections. Here as in Ohio I find party distinctions, the Adams men tho in

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<sup>125</sup>This is written on the sheet attached to the preceding letter and is evidently a copy of Sloo's reply.

<sup>126</sup>Sloo's reply exhibits a sense of political honor which is refreshing in that period of personally vindictive politics.

<sup>127</sup>There is no other communication from him and no means of identifying him.



the minority are full of malice and intrigue, they are trying every plan to distract and defeat if possible the Jackson ranks, their general cry is *peace, peace, lay partyism aside as the contest is over and let us vote for the best man!* Yet when they come to the polls not a single man of them will vote for a Jacksonian.<sup>128</sup> They [the?] Jackson party is wide awake and I am in hopes not a single man will suffer himself to be wheedled out of his vote by any of the coalition<sup>129</sup> gentry. Ohio has showed herself republican and I hope will ever remain so. My dear sir, I solicit your friendship and aid to procure me the appointment of Post Master at this place, the present incumbent Mr Mitchell<sup>130</sup> is a warm Adams man and from what I can learn is opposed to every act of the present administration. I also understand that a Mr William Herndon<sup>131</sup> a Jackson man has petitioned for that appointment, he is a man given to intoxication and not of the best character, he lives with his brother A. G. Herndon, who bid off the contract for carrying the mail from St Louis to this place and several other routs and has failed to comply with any of them. I do not think it would be any credit to the Jackson party to have W[illia]m Herndon appointed to that office, but rather a disgrace. I make these remarks from a Knowledge of the facts and Mr Barry<sup>132</sup> might be imposed upon. You are acquainted with me and my political creed throughout the canvass and if that appointment is not made, I will be under many obligations to you if you will intercede with the Post Master General for that appointment, as I know your influence will do much, it would be a great benefit to me and the income would help to support my small family. I could give the best recommendations from my

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<sup>128</sup>For a comparison of partisan conditions at this period in Ohio and Indiana, see *Quarterly II*, pp. 12-25. The Jackson organization in Illinois as elsewhere was beginning to intrigue for the "spoils."

<sup>129</sup>"Coalition" formed the most effective war cry against the supporters of Adams and Clay.

<sup>130</sup>Edward Mitchell is reported as the incumbent in the *Official Register* for 1832, p. 343.

<sup>131</sup>Possibly William H. Herndon, Lincoln's later law partner and biographer.

<sup>132</sup>William T. Barry of Kentucky, then serving as Postmaster General. For some Barry letters see *Am. Hist. Rev. XVI*, p. 327ff.





friends in Ohio if it were necessary, any security required I can give here. I am well acquainted with the duties of that office as I have acted two years in the capacity of a deputy. If I should get that appointment I will be content therewith, and ever will feel grateful to you and my country. If you have any news or any documents I would be always glad to receive them.

Your attention and answer as soon as convenient will much oblige your obedient and humble Servant



Quarterly Publication of the His-  
torical and Philosophical  
Society of Ohio

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OCTOBER-DECEMBER

ANNUAL REPORT  
AND  
INDEX VOLS. IV-VI

CINCINNATI, OHIO



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COMMITTEE IN CHARGE OF PUBLICATION

---

CHARLES T. GREVE.      MERRICK WHITCOMB.



# ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

## Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio

For the Year Ending  
December 4, 1911



CINCINNATI  
PRESS OF JENNINGS AND GRAHAM





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The meetings of the Society are held in its rooms in the Van Wormer Library Building, Burnet Woods, at three in the afternoon of the first Saturday of each month from October to May.

The Library is a free public Library, open to visitors daily, except Sunday, from nine A. M. to five P. M.



ANNUAL REPORT  
OF THE  
Historical and Philosophical Society  
of Ohio for 1911

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REPORT OF LIBRARIAN

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CINCINNATI, DECEMBER 4th, 1911.

*Mr. President and Members of the Society;*

During the year the increase in number of books and pamphlets of our library acquired by gift and purchase, is as follows:

Books donated.....	127
Books purchased.....	91
Pamphlets donated.....	963
Pamphlets purchased.....	9
Total.....	1190

Of those purchased, 60 books and 9 pamphlets are credited to the Margaret Rives King fund; 26 to the Elizabeth Appleton fund; and 5 to the Society of Colonial Dames fund. Besides these there are the usual serials which are purchased annually.

The increase in the number of books has been further augmented by the binding of desirable publications, which, lacking proper covers, had found an abiding place in the pamphlet collection, and, also, by the binding of several hundred pamphlets that were previously assorted into groups according to their subject matter, and then bound so that only those pamphlets treating upon the same subject were brought together under one cover. By this means we have made available to the



student of history some valuable material that heretofore was lost sight of. There are 2 pamphlet volumes relating to the Mississippi River; 2 to the Ohio River; 1 to Ohio Turnpikes and Canals; 1 Northern Boundary Lines of Ohio; 1 Early Steamboats; 1 Ordinance of 1787; 4 Ohio History; 2 Removal of the U. S. Capitol from Washington; 11 United States History; and others of equal interest. The pamphlets bearing upon United States history are rare, of dates 1765 to 1824, principally published in London, many of them presenting the British view of the difficulties between England and America during that period. The addition so obtained amounts to 77 volumes. These, together with the 218 volumes enumerated above, added to the 24132 volumes reported last year, make the total number of titles in the library at the present date 24427.

The titles of a number of the volumes purchased this year, are:—

Louisiana under the rule of Spain, France, and the United States, 1785-1807, 2 vols., by J. A. Robertson;

The Spanish-American War, 2 vols., by F. E. Chadwick;

The Wilderness Trail, 2 vols., by C. A. Hanna;

Old Times on the Upper Mississippi, by G. B. Merrick.

Historic Indiana, by J. H. Levering;

Quakers in the American Colonies, by R. M. Jones;

Mathew's Expansion of New England;

Kirkpatrick's Timothy Flint;

Forbes-Lindsay's Daniel Boone, Backwoodsman;

McCarty's Territorial Governors of the Old Northwest;

Diary of Gideon Welles, 3 vols.;

The Monongahela of Old, by Veech;

Recollections of Alexander Stephens;

Washington and the West, by A. B. Hulbert;

Fite's Presidential Campaign of 1860;

Fite's Social and Industrial Condition in the North during the Civil War, 2 vols.;

Life of Rutherford B. Hayes, by Conwell;

Life and Character of Rutherford B. Hayes, by Howells;

Norton's Reminiscences of the Log Cabin and Hard Cider Campaign;

Spears' Story of the American Merchant Marine;

Richman's California under Spain and Mexico, 1535-1847;



- Studies Military and Diplomatic, by C. F. Adams;  
 Belcher's First American Civil War, 1775-78;  
 Writings of James Madison, 9 vols., by Gaillard Hunt;  
 Slavery and Four Years' War, 2 vols., by J. Warren Keifer;  
 Fiske's Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America, 2 vols.;  
 Harper's Encyclopædia of United States History, 10 vols.;  
 Crawford's Kansas in the Sixties;  
 Fleming's Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama;  
 Sharpless' History of Quaker Government in Pennsylvania,  
 1682-1783;  
 The Mother of Washington and his Times, by Mrs. Prior;  
 New Amsterdam and its People, by J. H. Innes;  
 North Carolina, a Study in English Colonial Government,  
 by C. L. Raper;  
 Story of the Negro, by Booker Washington;  
 Recollections of Thirteen Presidents, by J. S. Wise;  
 The Last American Frontier, by Paxson;  
 History of Company C, Seventh Regiment, O. V. I., by  
 T. Wilder;  
 History of Fuller's Ohio Brigade, by Major C. H. Smith;  
 Personal Recollections of Service in the Army of the Cum-  
 berland and Sherman's Army, 1861-1865, by S. A. McNeil,  
 Co. F, 31st O. V. V. Inf.;  
 Lights and Shadows of Army Life, by W. W. Lyle, Chap-  
 lain 11th Reg. O. V. I.;  
 The Stone Age in North America, 2 vols., by W. K. Moore-  
 head;  
 Manwaring's Early Connecticut Probate Records, 1635-1750,  
 3 vols.;  
 Hoyt's Old Families of Salisbury and Amesbury; 2 vols.;  
 Bibliography: Writings on American History, 6 vols.  
 The following enumeration is a partial list of books drawn  
 from the pamphlet collection and bound—not including the  
 "Pamphlet volumes" mentioned.
- Correspondence between John Adams and William Cun-  
 ingham; Letters of John Adams to Dr. Calkoen, 1780; De  
 l'Influence d'une Grande Révolution, sur le Commerce, l'Agric-  
 ulture et les Arts; Complot d'Arnold et de Sir Herry Clinton  
 contre les États-Unis d'Amerique et contre le Général Wash-  
 ington, pub. 1816; The American Remembrancer, pub. 1795;  
 Mémoire envoyé de 18 Juin, 1790, au Comité des Rapports de





l'Assemblée Nationale, par M. de la Luzerne, Ministre & Secrétaire d'État, pub. 1790; Convention between the United States and the French Republic, 1803; Collection of Authentic Papers, relative to the Dispute between Great Britain and America. . . from 1764 to 1775, pub. in London, 1777; The Battle of Lake Erie, by J. Fennimore Cooper; Discovery of the Valley of the Mississippi, by A. M. Hart; Histories of the Fourth Ohio Vol. Cavalry; of the 46th Ohio Volunteers; of the 83rd Ohio Vol. Inf.; and of the 104th Reg. Ohio Vol. Inf.; Popular Lectures by Francis Wright D'Arusmont. Das Deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika, 1818-1848 von Gustav Körner; Geschichte des Grossen Amerikanischen Westens . . . von H. A. Rattermann.

A number of gifts of miscellaneous nature have been received and are particularly acceptable as they relate to this locality. They are:—

*From the Cincinnati Training School for Nurses:*

1 volume of annual reports and 6 volumes of the recording secretary's minutes. The latter furnishes a complete history of the corporation from its organization in 1889 to its final dissolution this year.

*From Mr. Charles W. Short:*

Collection of pamphlets, photographs, broadsides, cards, etc., relating to the Ohio Valley Industrial Exposition held in this city, 1910.

*From Mr. Albert Bettinger:*

Collection similar to the one above, relating to the Fernbank Dam Celebration, 1911.

*From Mr. J. Stacy Hill:*

Collection similar to those above, all relating to Cincinnati.

*From Colonel Jephtha Gerrard:*

2 Lists of Members of Hamilton Agricultural Society, 1835 & 1837; Constitution and By-Laws of the Cincinnati Fire Association and a list of officers and members, 1839.

*From Mrs. S. T. Brewster:*

2 Scrap Books of newspaper clippings containing accounts of the Cincinnati City Election of 1844, collected by L. E. Brewster.

*From Mr. Thomas Hollister:*

1 Passport issued during martial law in Cincinnati, at the time of the Kirby Smith raid.



*From Mr. J. Lewis Sampson of Chicago:*

Framed Chart of a branch of the descendants of John Sampson of Ireland and later of Pennsylvania; An old Bible containing family records, that formerly belonged to his son Joseph who came early to "Turkey Bottom" now Linwood, Cincinnati; Sword of James Sampson (son of said Joseph) who lived in Silverton, Ohio, and appears to have been an officer in the War of 1812; also, a Cane, gold mounted, that was the property of Joseph Sampson of Lockland, Ohio, the son of James above mentioned.

*From Mr. H. F. Woods:*

Masonic Badge of the Centennial Celebration of the Blue Lodge of Ohio, Oct. 2, 1908.

*From Mrs. G. A. Thayer:*

Photograph of the Woman's Citizen Committee, 32nd Encampment of G. A. R., Cincinnati, Sept., 1895.

*From Mrs. R. B. Bowler:*

Daguerreotype of James Lodge, with an obituary notice, of date Dec. 21, 1835, where he is mentioned as "Senior proprietor of the Cincinnati Gazette," with which newspaper he was associated for 18 years previous to his death. He emigrated from Pennsylvania in 1814 to this locality, residing in Dayton, Ohio, and in Corydon, Ind., previous to settling in Cincinnati.

A Hat of the Independent Fire Co. 3 (of Cincinnati); also, a large photograph of Grover Cleveland.

*From Mr. D. L. James:*

50 views of Cincinnati, on postal cards.

*From Mr. Charles Lehman:*

Several old Bank Bills.

*From Mr. H. C. Ezekiel:*

Several Bank Bills of early dates, and an article written by him upon the early money of Cincinnati.

*From Mrs. A. H. Chatfield:*

10 Tax Receipts of various dates.

*From Captain Louis Hoffmann:*

2 Poems elaborately illustrated and mounted in large frames. One was presented by a number of his friends in 1888, as an expression of their appreciation of his skill as an American vintner, especially in the cultivation of Ohio grapes, with the request that a place upon the walls of his new Assembly



Rooms might be found for the framed copy of Longfellow's song, "Catawba Wine," addressed

"To the Queen of the West,  
In her garlands dressed  
On the Banks of the Beautiful River."

The other poem is Drake's "Address to the American Flag dedicated by the Loyal Citizens of the Republic to the Army and Navy of the United States, and to James E. Murdock, Esq., the Patriotic and Fervent Declaimer of our National War-Lyrics." Inscribed upon the frame is: "James E. Murdock, eminent as an actor and interpreter of Shakespeare's Plays, Distinguished as an American patriot in the War of the Union. Born, Philadelphia, 1811, Died Cincinnati, 1893."

The Miami University "General Catalogue of the Graduates and Former Students, including Members of the Board of Trustees and Faculty during its first century, 1809-1909," has been received. It will prove to be a desirable reference work for the biographies of many of our early residents who were educated in that college. The Minnesota Historical Society has sent lately a copy of their publication "The Aborigines of Minnesota" that is very large and elaborately illustrated. The Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society has very generously donated to our Society 7 volumes of their "Collections" thus completing our set to date. The volume III of the Collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota, which has just been received, appears to be a full history of the State of North Dakota. Other Historical Societies, too numerous to mention, have been similarly generous.

The Society has secured by purchase about 240 manuscript letters addressed to Nathaniel Wright, a lawyer of this city, where he died in 1875 in his 87th year. While many of these letters are written by persons outside of this locality, others are signed by S. S. Prentis, General Leslie Coombs, Hon. R. C. Schenck, John Kilgour, R. R. Springer, Peter Neff, Hon. S. Galloway, Rev. C. E. Stowe, Bellamy Storer, Micajah T. Williams, Alfred Kelly of Cleveland, and other residents of Cincinnati or Ohio. There is a notice of his election as a member of the Board of Trustees, and as President of the Executive Committee of Lane Seminary.



There seems to be no special report to be made upon the work done in the library this year, other than that there is a gradual, though slow, advancement in the effort to bring the pamphlet collection into a more accessible condition. The four numbers of the quarterly publication have been issued, and the regular routine work in the library has continued in the usual manner.

L. BELLE HAMLIN.





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Albany Law School.....		1
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Nomad Club.....		1
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Lowell Historical Society.....		1



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State University.....		8
Tax Commission.....		2
Ohio Society of New York.....	1	
Ohio Valley Historical Association.....		1
Pennsylvania Historical Society.....		1
Pennsylvania Society.....		1
Rhode Island Historical Society.....		2
Royal Society of Canada.....	1	1
St. Louis Mercantile Library.....		1
Swedish Colonial Society.....		1
Syracuse Public Library.....		1
Texas State Historical Society.....		4
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Reed, W. H.....		1
Sampson, J. L.....	1	
Shemler, Mrs. M.....		1
Smith, J. H.....		1
Thayer, G. A.....240 periodicals, etc.,		2
Thompson, Slason.....	1	
Webster, J. L.....		1
Wood, W. M.....		2



# MEMBERS.

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	VOL.	PAM.
Bliss, E. F.....	6	59
Chatfield, A. H.....5 periodicals	4	67
Chatfield, Mrs. A. H.....		77
Dandridge, Miss M. E.....73 periodicals		
Hamlin, L. B.....	1	16
James, D. L.....Miscellanies		83
Taylor, W. W.....Miscellanies		5
Wilby, J.....	1	31
Winslow, J. F.....	12	20





## PRESIDENT'S REPORT

---

The Librarian's Report gives good account of the year's work.

The contents of our Quarterly Publication for 1911 are:

Vol. VI, No. 1, January-March, Translation from the Welsh, by Rev. M. O. Evans, of Rev. B. W. Chidlaw's "YR American," with introductory note by L. Belle Hamlin.

Vol. VI, No. 2, April-June, Selections from Torrence Papers, VI; Edited by Prof. Cox.

Vol. VI, No. 3, July-September, Selections from Torrence Papers, VII; Edited by Prof. Cox.

Vol. VI, No. 4, Will consist, as usual, of the annual reports, including Index to Volumes IV, V and VI.

The Society is indebted to Prof. Cox for his careful editing of the selections from Torrence Papers.

Mrs. Robert F. Leaman, a Corporate Member of the Society, died June 14, 1911.

I take pleasure in recording here, the gift, October 13, 1911, from Miss Jane Caldwell Neave of \$1,000, for "The Halsted Neave Endowment Fund," making \$5,000 in all contributed by her, since June, 1906, to that fund.

JOSEPH WILBY.

December 4, 1911.



# REPORT OF TREASURER

December 4, 1911.

*For the President and Members of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio.*

I have the honor to present the annual report of the Assets and Liabilities of The Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio for the year ending November 30, 1911.

## Schedule "A."

### STATEMENT OF ASSETS AND LIABILITIES

At November 30th, 1911.

#### ASSETS.

Cash in Bank.....	\$3,179 44
L. B. Hamlin—Petty Fund.....	56 60
Central Trust & Safe Deposit Co., Interest Account .	18 21
Investments.....Exhibit I,	34,734 42
Fee of Property No. 107 W. 8th St.....	29,000 00
Total.....	\$66,988 67

#### LIABILITIES.

FUND	ACCOUNT	EXHIBIT	
General.....	Investment.....2,		\$716 25
Building.....	Principal.....3,		17,416 49
Endowment.....	.....4,		12,320 00
Life Membership.....	Investment.....5,		5,037 13
Julius Dexter Publication.....	Investment.....6,		1,074 25
".....	Income.....6,		105 26
E. H. Appleton Memorial.....	Investment.....7,		4,143 40
".....	Income.....7,		311 57
Halsted Neave.....	Principal.....8,		1,000 00
".....	Investment.....8,		4,408 25
".....	Income.....8,		425 06
Erasmus Gest.....	Investment.....9,		4,862 50
".....	Income.....		114 98
Margaret Rives King.....	Investment.....10,		8,397 50
".....	Income.....10,		434 05
A. J. Howe.....	Investment.....11,		5,087 50
".....	Income.....11,		78 75
Colonial Dames.....	Investment.....12,		200 00
".....	Income.....12,		1 35
Binding.....	Investment.....13,		807 64
".....	Income.....13,		46 74
Total.....			\$66,988 67



## Schedule "B."

# STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

For Year Ended November 30th, 1911.

## RECEIPTS.

## DUES:

1908.....	\$10 00
1909.....	10 00
1910.....	30 00
1911.....	560 00

---

\$610 00

## INCOME FROM INVESTMENT:

General Fund.....	\$30 00
Life Membership Fund.....	274 50
Julius Dexter Publication Fund.....	45 20
E. H. Appleton Memorial Fund.....	197 50
Halsted Neave Fund.....	196 80
Margaret Rives King Fund.....	340 00
Colonial Dames Fund.....	12 00
Binding Fund.....	34 00
Erasmus Gest Fund.....	235 00
A. J. Hall Fund.....	225 00

---

1,590 00

Receipt from Life Membership.....

100 00

Rent of 107 W. Eighth St. to Oct. 31, 1911,

800 00

Halsted Neave Principal Account.....

1,000 00

---

Total Receipts.....

---

4,100 00

---

## DISBURSEMENTS.

Salaries, Librarian & Janitor.....	\$1,050 00
Assistant for Librarian.....	33 35
Stationery.....	6 00
Postage.....	3 75
Printing.....	290 37
Audit of Treasurer's Books.....	25 00
Safe Deposit—rental.....	7 00
Miscellaneous.....	85 05
E. H. Appleton Fund, Purchases & Expenses.....	65 11
Margaret R. King Fund, Purchases & Expenses.....	197 12
Colonial Dames Fund, Purchases & Expenses.....	32 25
Binding Fund—Binding.....	20 10
General Fund.....	83 42

---

\$1,898 52

EXCESS RECEIPTS OVER DISBURSEMENTS.....

2,201 48

Cash in Bank December 1, 1910.....

1,034 56

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Less Cash in Librarian's hands, December 1, 1911....

3,236 04

56 60

---

CASH IN BANK, NOVEMBER 30, 1911.....

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3,179 44

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# STATEMENT OF INVESTMENTS AND SAVINGS DEPOSITS

At November 30th, 1911.

(Exhibit "I")

## GENERAL FUND:

10 Shares Cincinnati St. Ry. Co. Stock.....	\$716 25
---	----------

## LIFE MEMBERSHIP FUND:

83 Shares Cincinnati St. Ry. Co. Stock.....	\$1,425 75
Part Interest in \$2,000.00 C. & O. Ry. Co. 4½% Bonds.....	314 38
4 Shares Cincinnati St. Ry. Co. Stock.....	289 00
Savings Deposit—3% Central Tr. & S. D. Co....	8 00
	5,037 13

## JULIUS DEXTER PUBLICATION FUND:

12 Shares Cincinnati St. Ry. Co. Stock.....	\$834 00
Part Interest in C. L. & N. Ry. Co. Bond.....	224 25
Savings Deposit—3% Central Tr. & S. D. Co....	16 00
	1,074 25

## E. H. APPLETON MEMORIAL FUND:

3 Bonds C. H. & D. Ry. Co. 4%.....	\$2,882 50
13 Shares Cincinnati St. Ry. Co. Stock.....	677 50
2 Shares Cincinnati St. Ry. Co. Stock.....	144 50
Part Interest in \$2,000.00 C. & O. Ry. Co. 4½% Bonds.....	314 37
Part Interest in C. L. & N. Ry. Co. Bond.....	97 50
Savings Deposit—3% Central Tr. & S. B. Co....	27 03
	4,143 40

## HALSTED NEAVE FUND:

C. L. & N. Ry. Co. Bond 4%.....	\$1,000 00
Kineon Coal Co. Bond 5%.....	1,000 00
2 Norfolk & Western Ry. Co. 4% Bonds.....	1,755 00
Part Interest in Ky. Cent. Ry. 4% Bond.....	487 50
Part Interest in C. L. & N. Ry. Bond.....	165 75
	4,408 25

## MARGARET RIVES KING FUND:

4 Bonds C. H. & D. Ry. Co. 4½%.....	\$4,512 50
7 Shares Cincinnati St. Ry. Co. Stock.....	481 25
Part Interest in \$2,000.00 C. & O. Ry. Co. 4½% Bond.....	1,551 25
Part Interest in Ky. Cent. Ry. Co. 4% Bonds...	1,462 50
Part Interest in C. L. & N. Ry. Co. Bond.....	390 00
	8,397 50

## COLONIAL DAMES FUND:

4 Shares Cincinnati St. Ry. Co. Stock.....	200 00
--	--------

## BINDING FUND:

10 Shares Cincinnati St. Ry. Co. Stock.....	\$680 63
Savings Deposit—3% Cent. Tr. & S. D. Co....	29 51
Part Interest in C. L. & N. Ry. Co. Bond.....	97 50
	807 64





**ERASMUS GEST FUND:**

C. & O. Ry. Co. \$1,000.00 Bond.....	\$1,017 50	
Chattanooga Station Co. \$1,000.00 Bond.....	930 00	
Cincinnati, Newport & Covington \$1,000.00 Bond.....	1,045 00	
2 Western Pacific Ry. Co. \$1,000.00 Bonds.....	1,870 00	
		<u>4,862 50</u>

**A. J. HOWE FUND:**

5 C. & O. Ry. Co. \$1,000.00 Bonds.....	5,087 50	
Total.....		<u><u>\$34,734 42</u></u>

(Exhibit "2")

**GENERAL FUND**

November 30th, 1911.

**RECEIPTS AND TRANSFERS:**

Dues, 1908.....	\$10 00	
1909.....	10 00	
1910.....	30 00	
1911.....	570 00	
		<u>\$620 00</u>
Dividend Cincinnati St. Ry.....		30 00
Transferred from Endowment Fund, account of Interest on Endowment Fund loaned to Building Fund.....		615 00
Transferred from Life Membership Income Ac- count.....		374 81
		<u>\$1,639 81</u>

**DISBURSEMENTS:**

Salaries—Librarian and Janitor.....	\$1,050 00	
Assistant for Librarian.....	33 35	
Printing.....	290 37	
Postage.....	24 75	
Subscriptions and Dues.....	20 00	
Paper for Quarterly.....	36 27	
Dues for Librarian.....	10 00	
Stationery.....	6 00	
General Expense.....	123 20	
		<u>1,593 94</u>

EXCESS RECEIPTS OVER DISBURSEMENTS

CARRIED TO BUILDING FUND, Exhibit 3,

45 87

General Fund Investment Account.....

\$716 25



(Exhibit "3")  
**BUILDING FUND**  
 November 30th, 1911.

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**INCOME ACCOUNT**

**RECEIPTS AND TRANSFERS:**

Rent to October 1st, 1911.....	\$800 00	
Transfer from General Fund.....	45 87	
		<u>\$845 87</u>

**DISBURSEMENTS:**

Interest on Endowment Fund.....	\$615 00	
Transfer to Building Fund Principal Account...	230 87	
		<u>845 87</u>

**PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT**

Credit Balance at December 1st, 1910.....	\$17,185 62
Transferred from Income Account.....	230 87
	<u>\$17,416 49</u>
CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30th, 1911.	

(Exhibit "4")  
**ENDOWMENT FUND**  
 November 30th, 1911.

---

**INCOME ACCOUNT**

**RECEIPTS:**

Interest on Loan to Building Fund, transferred to General Fund.....	<u>\$615 00</u>
--	-----------------

**PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT**

CREDIT BALANCE DECEMBER 1ST, 1910.....	\$12,320 00
CREDIT BALANCE NOVEMBER 30TH, 1911.....	<u>\$12,320 00</u>



(Exhibit "5")  
**LIFE MEMBERSHIP FUND**  
 November 30th, 1911.

**INCOME ACCOUNT**

**RECEIPTS:**

Cash—Jos. Henry' Gest.....	\$100 00	
Cincinnati St. Ry. Dividends.....	261 00	
C. & O. Ry. Co. Bond Interest.....	13 50	
Interest on Deposits.....	31	
		<u>\$374 81</u>

**DISBURSEMENTS:**

Transferred to General Fund.....	<u>\$374 81</u>
----------------------------------	-----------------

**INVESTMENT ACCOUNT**

CREDIT BALANCE DECEMBER 1st, 1910.....	\$5,037 13
CREDIT BALANCE NOVEMBER 30th, 1911.....	<u>\$5,037 13</u>

(Exhibit "6")  
**JULIUS DEXTER PUBLICATION FUND**  
 November 30th, 1911.

**INCOME ACCOUNT**

Credit Balance December 1st, 1910.....	\$59 45
--	---------

**RECEIPTS:**

Cincinnati St. Ry. Co. Dividends.....	\$36 00	
C. L. & N. Ry. Co. Bond Interest.....	9 20	
Interest on Deposits.....	61	
		<u>45 81</u>

CREDIT BALANCE NOVEMBER 30th, 1911....	<u>\$105 26</u>
--	-----------------

**INVESTMENT ACCOUNT**

CREDIT BALANCE DECEMBER 1st, 1910.....	\$1,074 25
CREDIT BALANCE NOVEMBER 30th, 1911.....	<u>\$1,074 25</u>



(Exhibit "7")

## E. H. APPLETON MEMORIAL FUND

November 30th, 1911.

### INCOME ACCOUNT

Credit balance at December 1st, 1910..... \$178 26

#### RECEIPTS:

Cin'ti St. R'y. Co. Dividends.....	\$45 00	
C. H. & D. Ry. Co. Bond Interest.....	135 00	
C. & O. Ry. Co. Bond Interest.....	13 50	
C. L. & N. Ry. Co. Bond Interest.....	4 00	
Interest on Deposits.....	92	
		<u>198 42</u>
		\$376 68

#### DISBURSEMENTS:

Books purchased.....	65 11
----------------------	-------

CREDIT BALANCE NOVEMBER 30th, 1911....	<u>\$311 57</u>
--	-----------------

### INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

CREDIT BALANCE AT DECEMBER 1st, 1910..... \$4,143 40

CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30th, 1911..... \$4,143 40

(Exhibit "8")

## HALSTED NEAVE FUND

November 30th, 1911.

### INCOME ACCOUNT

Credit Balance at December 1st, 1910..... \$228 26

#### RECEIPTS:

C. L. & N. R'y Co. Bond Interest.....	\$46 80	
Ky. Cent. R'y Co. Bond Interest.....	20 00	
N. & W. Ry. Co. Bond Interest.....	80 00	
Kineon Coal Co. Bond Interest.....	50 00	
		<u>196 80</u>

CREDIT BALANCE NOVEMBER 30th, 1911....	<u>\$425 06</u>
--	-----------------





## INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

CREDIT BALANCE DECEMBER 1st, 1910.....	\$4,408 25
CREDIT BALANCE NOVEMBER 30th, 1911.....	<u>\$4,408 25</u>

## PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT

Cash October 13th, 1911—Gift from Miss Jane C. Neave.....	<u>\$1,000 00</u>
---	-------------------

(Exhibit "9")

## ERASMUS GEST FUND

November 30th, 1911.

## INCOME ACCOUNT

### RECEIPTS:

Western Pacific Ry. Co. Bond Interest.....	\$100 00	
Cin. Newport & Cov. St. Ry. Bond Interest....	50 00	
Chattanooga Station Bond Interest.....	40 00	
C. & O. Ry. Co. Bond Interest.....	45 00	
Credit Balance Dec. 1st, 1910.....	50 00	
	<u>285 00</u>	\$285 00

### DISBURSEMENTS:

Accruals for Interest & Commissions to December 1st, 1910.....	\$74 65	
Transferred to Principal Account—Final Payment on Bonds Purchased.....	95 37	
	<u>170 02</u>	
CREDIT BALANCE NOVEMBER 30th, 1911....		<u>\$114 98</u>

## PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT

Debit Balance December 1st, 1910.....	\$95 37
LESS—Transferred from Income Account—Final Payment on Bonds Purchased.....	95 37
	<u>00 00</u>

## INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

CREDIT BALANCE DECEMBER 1st, 1910.....	\$4,862 50
CREDIT BALANCE NOVEMBER 30th, 1911 .....	<u>\$4,862 50</u>



(Exhibit "10")

## MARGARET RIVES KING FUND

November 30th, 1911.

### INCOME ACCOUNT

Credit Balance December 1st, 1910..... \$291 17

#### RECEIPTS:

Cincinnati St. Ry. Co. Dividends.....	\$21 00
C. H. & D. Ry. Co. Bond Interest.....	180 00
C. & O. Ry. Co. Bond Interest.....	63 00
Ky. Cent. Ry. Co. Bond Interest.....	60 00
C. L. & N. Ry. Co. Bond Interest.....	16 00
	<hr/>
	340 00

\$631 17

#### DISBURSEMENTS:

Purchases of Books.....	197 12
	<hr/>

CREDIT BALANCE NOVEMBER 30th, 1911....	\$434 05
	<hr/> <hr/>

### INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

CREDIT BALANCE DECEMBER 1st, 1910.....	\$8,397 50
--	------------

CREDIT BALANCE NOVEMBER 30th, 1911.....	\$8,397 50
	<hr/> <hr/>

(Exhibit "11")

## A. J. HOWE FUND

November 30th, 1911.

### INCOME FUND

#### RECEIPTS:

C. & O. Ry. Co. Bond Interest.....	\$225 00
------------------------------------	----------

Debit Balance December 1st, 1910—accruals for interest & commissions.....	\$58 75
---	---------

#### DISBURSEMENTS:

Transferred to Principal Account—Final Payment on Bonds Purchased.....	87 50
	<hr/>
	146 25

CREDIT BALANCE NOVEMBER 30th, 1911....	\$78 75
	<hr/> <hr/>

### PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT

Debit Balance December 1st, 1910.....	\$87 50
---------------------------------------	---------

LESS—Transferred from Income—Final payment on Bonds Purchased.....	87 50
	<hr/> <hr/>



## INVESTMENT FUND

CREDIT BALANCE DECEMBER 1st, 1910.....	\$5,087 50
CREDIT BALANCE NOVEMBER 30th, 1911.....	\$5,087 50

(Exhibit "12")

## COLONIAL DAMES FUND

November 30th, 1911.

### INCOME ACCOUNT

Credit Balance December 1st, 1911.....	\$21 60
--	---------

#### RECEIPTS:

Cincinnati St. Ry. Dividends.....	12 00
	<hr/> \$33 60

#### DISBURSEMENTS:

Purchase of Books.....	32 25
	<hr/> \$1 35

CREDIT BALANCE NOVEMBER 30th, 1911....

### INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

CREDIT BALANCE DECEMBER 1st, 1910.....	\$200 00
CREDIT BALANCE NOVEMBER 30th, 1911.....	\$200 00

(Exhibit "13")

## BINDING FUND

November 30th, 1911.

### INCOME ACCOUNT

Credit Balance at December 1st, 1910.....	\$31 80
---	---------

#### RECEIPTS:

Cincinnati St. Ry. Co. Dividends.....	\$30 00
C. L. & N. Bond Interest.....	4 00
Interest on Deposits.....	1 04
	<hr/> 35 04
	<hr/> \$66 84

#### DISBURSEMENTS:

Binding.....	20 10
	<hr/> \$46 74

CREDIT BALANCE NOVEMBER 30th, 1911....

### INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

CREDIT BALANCE DECEMBER 1st, 1910.....	\$807 64
CREDIT BALANCE NOVEMBER 30th, 1911.....	\$807 64



## REPORT OF AUDITOR

---

Cincinnati, December 1st, 1911.

*To the President and Members of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, Cincinnati.*

*Sirs:—*

In accordance with your instructions, we have examined the books of account of The Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, for the year ended November 30th, 1911, and we report as follows, submitting as part of this report the following Schedules:—

*Schedule "A"—Statement of Assets and Liabilities at November 30th, 1911.*

*Schedule "B"—Statement of Receipts and Disbursements for the year ended November 30th, 1911.*

These Schedules are supported by sundry Exhibits, which show in detail the principal items contained therein.

Receipts and Disbursements have been examined and found correct. The Cash balance as shown by the books at date of closing, November 30th, 1911, agrees with balance on deposit in bank.

Securities as shown by Investment Account have been duly examined and found in accordance with account as shown by Exhibit 1.

The Statement of Assets and Liabilities, Schedule "A," represents the financial condition of the Society at date of closing, November 30th, 1911.

Respectfully submitted,

GUY H. KENNEDY.  
*Certified Public Accountant.*





## CORPORATE MEMBERS

---

Anderson, Davis C.	James, Davis L.
Anderson, Larz W.	Keyes, Miss Mary E.
Anderson, William H.	Kittredge, Edmund W.
Anderson, Mrs. William P.	Levy, Harry M.
Ault, L. A.	Longworth, Mrs. Nicholas
Blake, Rudolph F.	Ludlow, William S.
Battelle, John G.	Miller, Griffin T.
Brunswick, B. H.	Outcalt, Miller
Caldwell, Charles E.	Parkinson, George B.
Callahan, John R.	Patterson, Jefferson
Carew, Joseph T.	Patterson, John H.
Cist, Charles M.	Patterson, Robert
Compton, William C.	Pendleton, Elliott H.
Dabney, Charles W.	Procter, William Cooper
Dandridge, Miss Mary E.	Procter, Mrs. William Cooper
Davis, Mrs. Nathaniel Henchman	Pyle, E. C.
DeCamp, Walter A.	Rosenthal, C. H.
Emery, Mrs. Thomas J.	Schmidlapp, J. G.
Foley, B. W.	Shillito, Stewart
Foster, Miss Anna H.	Storer, Bellamy
Foster, William Lytle	Strobridge, Nelson W.
Forchheimer, Mrs. Frederick	Taft Charles P.
Freiburg, Maurice J.	Taylor, William W.
Gano, Mrs. John A.	Voorheis, Albert B.
Goepper, Edward	Whitcomb, Merrick
Greve, Charles Theodore	Wiborg, Frank B.
Hamlin, Miss L. Belle	Wiborg, Mrs. Frank B.
Harrison, William H.	Wilson, Obed J.
Henderson, Edwin	Wilson, Mrs. Obed J.
Hinkle, Frederick W.	Winslow, John F.
Hollister, Howard C.	Worthington, Edward.
Holmes, John R.	Worthington, William.
Ingalls, M. E.	Wulsin, Lucien.



## LIFE MEMBERS

---

Anderson, Mrs. Louise N.	Laws, Miss Annie
Bliss, Eugene F.	Livingood, Charles J.
Bullock, James W.	Neave, Miss Alice
Chatfield, Albert H.	Neave, Miss Jane C.
Chatfield, Mrs. Albert H.	Procter, Harley T.
Fleischmann, Julius	Storer, Mrs. Bellamy
Fletcher, Miss Clara B.	Thomson, Peter G.
Gest, Joseph H.	Vail, Henry H.
Hurd, E. O.	Walker, Mrs. Paul Francis
Jones, Frank J.	Wilby, Joseph
Jones, Mrs. Frank J.	Woods, Harry F.

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## CORRESPONDING MEMBERS

---

Adams, Charles Francis.	Hayes, E. G.
Cox, Isaac J.	Heath, William McK.
Duro, Cesario F.	Hoyt, Albert H.
Foulke, William Dudley	Thwaites, Reuben Gold
Galbreath, Charles P.	Tyson, Philip T.
Green, Samuel A.	

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## HONORARY MEMBERS

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Durrett, Reuben T.	Venable, William H.
Howe, Mrs. Andrew J.	Hulbert, Archer B.

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## DIED

Mrs. Kate Phillips Leaman, June 14, 1911.



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